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THE NEW DEMOCRAT

BLUEPRINT

JULY/AUGUST 2001

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around the nation

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Welcome to the new BLUEPRINT — the dynamic *new* voice of the New Democrat movement.

In creating a new BLUEPRINT that is bigger, newsier, and more diverse, we seek to provide a beacon to the rapidly growing network of New Democrats.

Our redesigned magazine may look familiar to longtime readers, but it differs in significant ways from the publication you've enjoyed since 1998.

With added sections and a new editorial mix, the new BLUEPRINT is a merger of the old BLUEPRINT and THE NEW DEMOCRAT, both policy and politics journals of the Democratic Leadership Council. The magazine incorporates editorials and essays from THE NEW DEMOCRAT, and keeps the old BLUEPRINT's emphasis on policy analysis and prescription. But the magazine is more than the sum of the two publications' parts. It has new features, a new look, a new size, a new feel. We've added new sections, new columnists, and news about New Democrats around the country.

Yet the new BLUEPRINT is still mainly a magazine of ideas. It will offer bold proposals for furthering the progressive tradition in American politics for the Information Age. It will fill a gaping hole in today's political journalism — a space for people and prescriptions that don't fit neatly into the conventional liberal-conservative mold.

The New Democrat movement is the political and intellectual home for America's progressive reformers. Their values, ideas, and approaches to governing are grounded in a public philosophy that embodies fundamental progressive principles, furthered by innovative thinking and modern means.

The first principle of the New Democrat philosophy is equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none. Our philosophy is grounded in the core values of community, work, and family. It furthers a public ethic of mutual responsibility, and promotes a global outlook. New Democrats pursue modern means to advance those principles and values. We foster private sector economic growth — today's prerequisite for opportunity for all — and an empowering government that equips citizens with the tools they need to get ahead.

This New Democrat movement occupies the vital center of American politics. By offering bold proposals for modernizing the progressive impulse in the networked age, BLUEPRINT will play the same role for today's progressives that *The New Republic* played in incubating fresh thinking about social and political reform in the earlier progressive movement.

The cover package of the first issue of the new BLUEPRINT tackles the cultural divide in American politics that has driven so many former Democratic voters into the Republican fold. It asks why white men vote overwhelmingly Republican, why gun owners don't trust Democrats, and how Democrats can win the battle over faith, family, and moral renewal.

While some of our writers paint a bleak short-term picture, they say there is no reason why Democrats cannot become more competitive on all these issues. I agree: I'm convinced that we can successfully traverse this treacherous terrain.

And I hope you'll traverse it with us in BLUEPRINT.

—Al From

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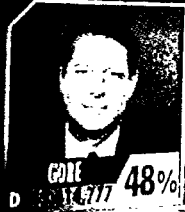
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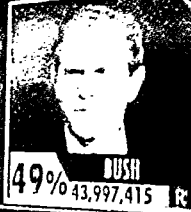
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POPULAR VOTE

NATIONWIDE



GORE
11,777 48%



BUSH
49% 43,997,415 R

BRIDGING THE GAP: White males — especially those in uniform — tend not to vote Democratic. It's part of the cultural divide that Democrats must overcome.

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Bridging

the **Cultural Divide**by **The Editors**

Blue states, red states: It looked pretty stark late on election night in 2000. Al Gore swept the Northeast (save New Hampshire), the West Coast, and much of the upper Midwest (blue states), while George W. Bush won most of the American heartland, including the South, the Plains, and the Rocky Mountains (red states).

National exit polls suggested an even starker division on cultural grounds, with voters who attended religious services once a week or more going for Bush by a nearly 2-1 margin; voters in households that own firearms also going for Bush by a more than 2-1 margin; and white males in general going for Bush by a better than 3-2 margin. Bush even narrowly carried the vote of white women. Indeed, it appeared the country was more divided on cultural than on class lines, in part, ironically, because the successful economic record of the Clinton administration had helped mute economic worries.

The election was a virtual tie, and the weaknesses shown by Al Gore in one category of voters were balanced by strengths among others. If Bush did better than expected among non-college-educated white men, Gore did quite well among college-educated and high-income women. Bush's strength among white voters generally was offset by historic margins of support for Gore among African-Americans and an excellent showing among Hispanics. And if Democrats are rightly worried about

Democrats can redraw the political map with an inclusive message and a pro-opportunity agenda.

losing 11 states carried by Bill Clinton in 1996, Republicans should be worried that they aren't even competitive in electoral-vote-rich states like California.

Still, the apparent cultural divide among Americans is an important puzzle for both parties to address, and it has created a vigorous debate in the Democratic Party about how to reverse or at least minimize cultural defections in the future.

Many pundits and Democratic operatives explained away the re-emergence of the cultural divide in 2000 as a temporary phenomenon associated with anger over President Clinton's ethical lapses. The unspoken assumption accompanying this interpretation is that there's no deeper cultural problem afflicting Democrats — the problem will take care of itself as memories of the Clinton administration fade.

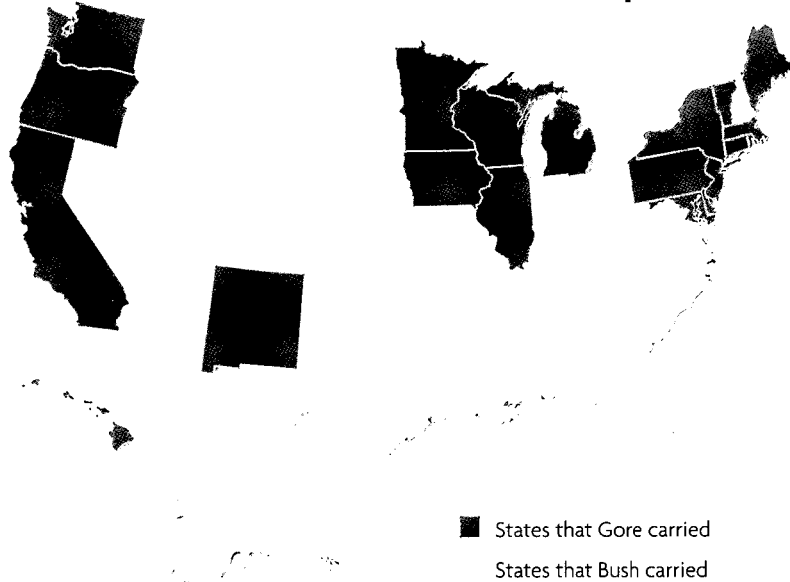
Among many traditional liberals, there's a longstanding belief — dating back to the days of anxiety over the blue-collar Reagan Democrats of the 1980s — that Democrats can trump Republican appeals to middle-income cultural conservatives with a high-octane populist message that viscerally engages voters' economic interests. This strategy was in part the rationale for Al Gore's "people versus the powerful" message during one phase of the 2000 campaign, which seems to have helped boost his standing among Democratic "base" voters but spectacularly failed to succeed with the swing voters who were its target, especially middle-class white men.

Our view, reflected throughout this issue of *BLUEPRINT*, is that there is indeed a culture problem affecting Democrats that antedated the Clinton scandals, and which cannot be avoided just by changing the subject. To put it simply, many voters fear that Democrats are either hostile or indifferent to people of faith, married people with kids (especially stay-at-home moms), those who serve proudly in the military, those who own guns for self-protection or hunting, and perhaps even white males as a group. This perception is often reinforced by the parallel belief that Democrats are excessively bound by allegiance to interest and advocacy groups that do not share mainstream values in one respect or another.

To be sure, some positions on cultural hot-button issues — a woman's right to choose, civil rights and equal opportunity, and tolerance and inclusion for gays and lesbians — represent fundamental values and moral commitments that dictate policy positions that are not always universally popular. So be it. It would be outrageous for Democrats to respect the values of cultural conservatives by renouncing their own.

But there's no principled reason that Democrats should accept the charge that they are anti-military, anti-traditional-

The Post-election Political Map



That's why Democrats should embrace the New Democrat message of activist but limited and empowering government and take every opportunity to show that Democrats are willing to reform big bureaucracies and engage civil society in the task of solving the country's major problems.

That's also why we think the strategy of trying to trump cultural conservatism with economic populism is potentially disastrous for Democrats. To the extent that populism is expressed through efforts to create or expand Big Government entitlement programs or benefits, to paternalistically protect the "people versus the powerful," it will powerfully re-establish the pro-government image of Democrats that underlies many cultural concerns about the party.

Just as important, trying to regain culturally conservative voters with a class warfare message and a pro-gov-

family, anti-religious, or anti-Second Amendment, or that they are aligned generally with morally corrosive forces in our society. They should embrace a values centrism to accompany their successful efforts to seize the vital center on economic issues.

In this spirit, Democrats should speak out forcefully on national security issues instead of abandoning them as enemy territory. Building on President Clinton's efforts to put government on the side of parents struggling to protect their children from bad influences, Democrats should support Sen. Joe Lieberman's campaign to get Hollywood to clean up its act and stop deliberately exposing kids to entertainment products saturated with sex and violence. Democrats should avoid identification with interest groups hostile to religion and should make it clear they are open to greater involvement in public social efforts by faith-based organizations and other elements of civil society. And Democrats should also return to the Clinton administration's successful efforts to promote responsible gun ownership rather than pushing for sweeping national gun control legislation that raises the specter of an ultimate ban on private gun ownership.

But there's more to the problem Democrats have with culturally conservative voters than the familiar cultural issues of God, Gays, and Guns. There's a fourth G word that matters even more: Government. Five years after President Clinton famously announced, "The era of big government is over," Democrats still suffer from the suspicion that their primary interest in public office is to expand government programs. Indeed, some of the cultural fears about Democrats may flow from this perception and the associated concern that in any contest between government and civil society — church, family, or local custom and community — Democrats will side with Washington.

ernment agenda would dearly cost Democrats elsewhere in the electorate, especially among middle- and upper-middle income voters, the growing ranks of wired workers, and suburbanites generally. Maybe the next Democratic presidential candidate will get some lift from fading memories of Clinton-era scandals, which some observers believe was the elephant in the corner in the last campaign. But there's no doubt at all that Democrats in 2004 will suffer from the absence of the remarkable Clinton record of economic, social, and fiscal accomplishment — the 900-pound gorilla at the kitchen table during the 2000 campaign. Without the ability to run as incumbents on that record — whose power nearly lifted Al Gore to the presidency — Democrats must aggressively and consistently promote a pro-growth, pro-opportunity agenda that unites the party base with swing voters. Or they must risk debilitating losses among the growing ranks of well-educated suburban voters who were trending heavily toward Democrats in the 1990s.

If they're smart, Democrats can hold on to their blue state advantage while minimizing the cultural suspicions that led to the red state fiasco in 2000. It will require an inclusive message, a progressive agenda, and a renewed commitment to reform of government — all aimed at vindicating both the mainstream cultural values and the economic aspirations of most Americans. It can and should include a values centrism that exposes the extremism of the Republican Right on cultural issues, and solidifies the New Democrat claim to represent the progressive center of American politics. ♦

BLUEPRINT'S
cover package
on the **Cultural
Divide** begins
on page 18

Tony the Conqueror

Blair rides Third Way themes to landslide re-election in Britain. > by **Tom Mirga**

If Tony Blair's first term as Britain's prime minister was an overture, his second promises to be a symphony for advocates of Third Way politics — on both sides of the Atlantic.

Blair and his New Labour Party scored a resounding victory over William Hague's rudderless Tories in Britain's June 7 general election, earning a clear mandate, as Blair put it, to continue giving "our people the skills, the technology, the know-how ... to make the most of themselves."

With Bill Clinton out of office and George W. Bush in the White House, Downing Street becomes the main test kitchen for New Democrat/New Labour policies on a national scale. And Blair is an eager and inventive cook. For instance, in the run-up to the election he unveiled a proposal to create "baby bonds" for all British newborns. The

individual development accounts, which would be worth an estimated \$4,500 to \$7,500 by the time a child

reaches 18, could be used to pay college bills, put a down payment on a house, or start a business. If the idea sounds familiar to Americans, there's a good



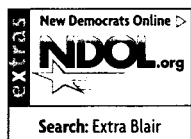
REACHING OUT: Blair's policies have resonated in "Middle England" as well as in traditional Labour strongholds in the cities.

reason: Former Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska proposed a nearly identical "KidSave" plan last October.

Blair's latest crime-fighting efforts also reflect cross-pollination with New Democrat innovations on this side of the ocean. His government's "intelligence-based policing" initiative, now set for a major expansion, uses the same data-driven crime-targeting techniques behind Maryland's acclaimed Hot Spots program. Blair also launched a nationwide campaign against juvenile

delinquency in late April that is rooted in restorative justice principles. Rather than putting young hooligans behind bars, the government is sending them back to their neighborhoods to take responsibility for and repair the damage they've done to their communities.

New Democrats will be watching Blair's second term with keen interest. In many respects, he is running the very type of New Democrat government that they had hoped to see in power in Washington today. ♦

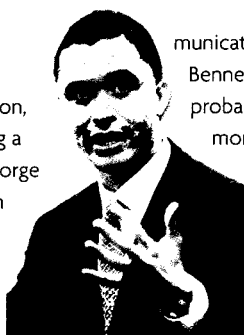


TheGRAPEVINE

News about New Democrat movers and shakers

Harold Ford Jr. is now a certified member of the glitterati. *People* magazine recently named the Tennessee congressman one of "the 50 most beautiful people in the world" — the only male politician to earn the distinction this year (first lady Laura Bush also made the cut). How does Ford, a

member of the House New Democrat Coalition, feel about sharing a pedestal with George Clooney, Harrison Ford, and other box-office stars? "He's flattered," says his com-



munications director, Jodi Bennett, adding that Ford probably would have felt more comfortable in "a group picture." DLC Chairman **Evan Bayh** made the magazine's beautiful-people list in 1999. ... New York City Councilwoman

Eva S. Moskowitz's new book, *In Therapy We Trust: America's Obsession with Self-Fulfillment*, is beginning to create a buzz. *Publishers Weekly* calls it an "entertaining, informative, and provocative cultural analysis." Moskowitz has also been riding the local and national talk-show circuit. —TM

DIGIgov

Best practices from the world of
online government

In the mid-1990s, New York City pioneered the use of computerized crime databases to target police resources. Recognizing a good thing when he saw one, New Democrat **Mayor Martin O'Malley of Baltimore** recruited the former Gotham police official who created the program, called ComStat, to replicate it in the Maryland city.

Delighted with the results, O'Malley is making Baltimore the first city in the nation to use computer-generated statistics to drive the delivery of city services across the board. The expanded program, dubbed **CitiStat**, began with the public works, health, recreation, and housing departments. Other mapping projects under way include TrashStat, aimed at speeding up trash collections; KidStat, a tracking system for youth recreation programs; and DrugStat, a comprehensive evaluation of drug treatment centers and their effectiveness.

Through CitiStat, Baltimore has cut unscheduled leave by up to two-thirds in its department of public works; reduced overtime by \$1.2 million in its general services, transportation, and water bureaus; saved \$400,000 by simply changing security guards' schedules; and "rediscovered" 2,000 bypassed water meters in the city, which will bring in an additional \$150,000 a year.

"City government is beginning to work better — and smarter — than it ever has," says O'Malley. "With improved management and political will, we have enough money in our budget to achieve our goals." For more information, visit the CitiStat Web site at www.ci.baltimore.md.us/news/citistat/index.html.



A Conversation with...

Sen. Joe Lieberman >> on e-government

BP > You recently proposed legislation to coordinate federal efforts to put government online. Why is e-government important?

JL: People are demanding the same 24/7 online access to government information and services now available to them from the private sector. It seems to me that government is lagging behind. Investing in e-government makes good consumer sense for taxpayers and strengthens the principles at the heart of our democracy: accessibility, accountability, and participation.

BP > Your bill calls for the appointment of a federal chief information officer. Why do we need one?

JL: If we don't create a separate post with some autonomy to oversee the government's work here, we're not going to go as far and as fast as we should. This bill calls for the type of decisive, top-level leadership required for government to truly harness information technology.

BP > How committed do you think the Bush administration is to e-government?

JL: The Bush administration recognizes the need to promote e-government initiatives and update the federal government's online services. I am concerned, however, that the administration has underestimated the need for the organization and centralization that a chief information officer would provide. E-government is not a partisan issue. I hope my colleagues in Congress, as well as in the administration, will approach it with an open mind and a readiness to compromise.

BP > What are some particulars of your proposal that will help move e-government forward?

JL: Our bill would establish an e-government fund, administered by



SEN. JOE LIEBERMAN (D-Conn.) was the Democratic candidate for vice president in 2000 and is a former chairman of the DLC.

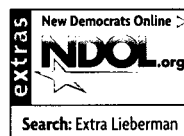
the chief information officer, to promote cross-agency projects that are absolutely necessary for the kind of integrated service delivery that will truly transform the government. We also want to build on the FirstGov.gov Web site that was launched last year, so that citizens can find the help they need with a few mouse clicks rather than with searches that often produce hundreds of thousands of results. Overall, we want to take full advantage of available technologies to provide comprehensive services while ensuring security and privacy.

BP > How would the public benefit from your bill?

JL: Oh, let me count the ways!

E-government is a great opportunity for people to connect to their government, to participate in some of its decision-making processes, and to dip into its unbelievable information resources. If this works, we will have succeeded in bringing government closer to the people, thereby increasing its value to them.

—interviewed by Kate Herman



Evan Bayh

Making the case for bipartisan cooperation > by **Kate Herman**

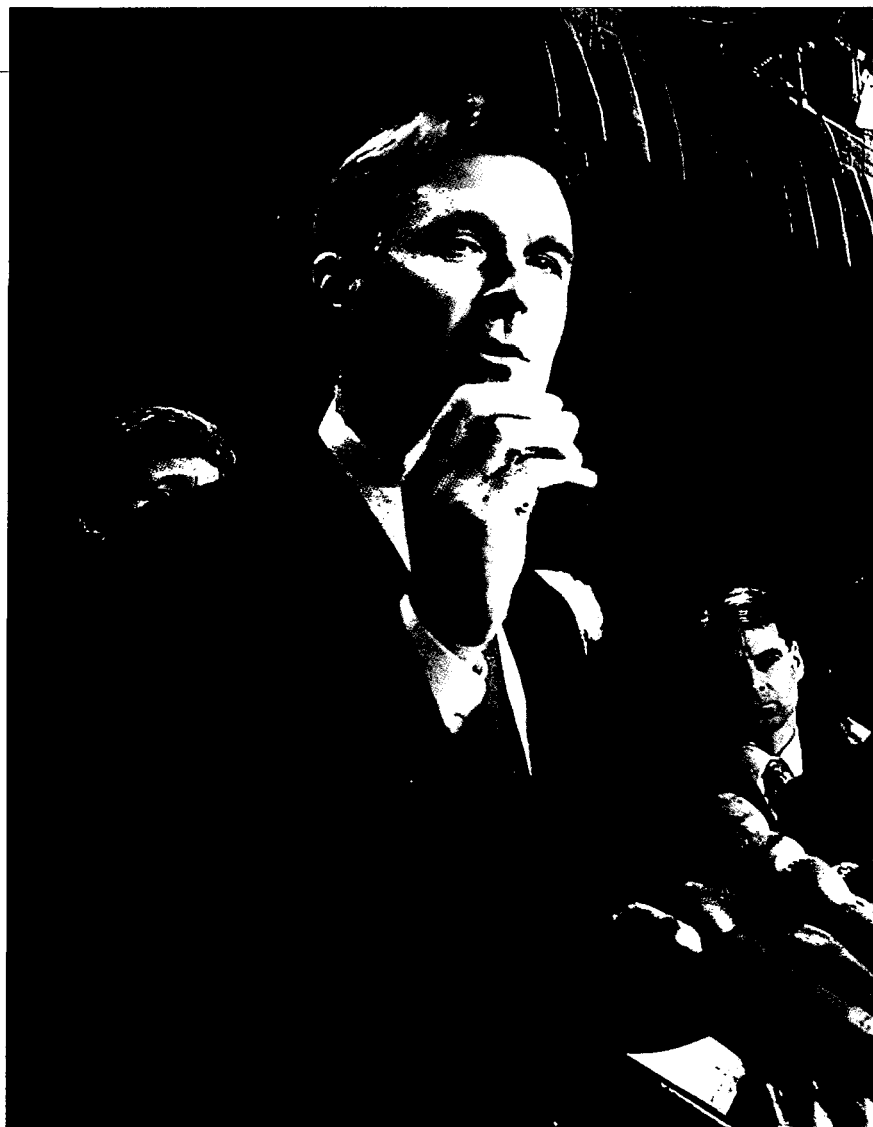
From introducing fatherhood initiatives to facilitating a national dialogue on education, Sen. Evan Bayh is turning heads with his bipartisan approach to some of the country's toughest issues. His two successful terms as a Democratic governor in heavily Republican Indiana established him as a leader with friends on both sides of the aisle, and he has maintained that reputation during his first three years as a U.S. senator.

Early this year, Bayh succeeded Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.) as chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council. Most recently, he has emerged at the forefront of the national debate on education, calling the process "more bipartisan and successful than any other like it, because we had common ground from the start." When George W. Bush adopted elements of the New Democrat approach to school reform during his presidential campaign, Bayh says, he set the tone for a cooperative effort.

Some fellow Democrats criticized the Indiana senator when he was among the first in his party to offer to work with Bush on education reform. But thanks in part to Bayh's work and that of other New Democrats, the president dropped private-school vouchers from his education plan, paving the way for quick passage of the bill.

"There are some people who say we shouldn't help [President Bush] on education so we can say he didn't do anything for four years," Bayh says. "But I think that's bad politics. That doesn't accomplish anything."

The education reform plan would grant local school officials more flexibility in exchange for more accounta-



“Too often in the past, we have defined success by how much we are spending [on education] and not by how kids are performing.” —Sen. Evan Bayh

bility for results. It also would allow students to transfer to new schools if their current ones were still foundering after three years. "Too often in the past, we have defined success by how much we are spending and not by how kids are performing," Bayh notes. "We reject those on the far right who say we should give vouchers, and we reject those on the left who say we should just give more money with no results."

Underscoring his interest in children and their welfare, this spring Bayh introduced a pro-fatherhood bill calling for increased paternal responsibility in a nation in which, he says, nearly 25 million children live apart from their biological fathers. Bayh showed his own

commitment to fatherhood when he announced in June that he would not run for president in 2004 for the sake of his 5-year-old twin sons.

"What we've discovered is that we have a lot of ... young men who bring children into the world without any real commitment," Bayh says. His bill would help "dead-broke dads" get the job training and skills they need to enter the workforce and help their children. But should his bill become law, Bayh says it would still be years before its effects could be assessed.

"Success won't be when it is signed," he says. "I'll know we've done a better job at solving the root problems when we see the symptoms decline." ♦

extras
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Jeanne Shaheen

New Hampshire Gov. Jeanne Shaheen is seeing to it that the second-oldest state in the union is second to none in the Information Age. The two-term New Democrat has been credited with bringing New Hampshire out of a recession and into an era of prosperity through forward-looking New Economy policies.

"I think people see the New Economy as being narrowly defined — we think about those businesses that build software, computers, and networking systems," she says. "But technology is also about doing things differently and seeing that your traditional companies, whether they be manufacturing- or tourism-based, are doing okay as well."

Of the state's 36,000 companies, Shaheen says, only 100 have more than 500 employees. Furthermore, 18,000 small businesses in New Hampshire have

fewer than five employees each. "Our prosperity is really being driven by these small businesses, and we need to be sure they have the resources they need, whether that means access to international markets or the Internet," Shaheen observes.

In April, Shaheen issued a New Economy development

strategy that calls for focusing on education development, maintaining both quality of life and quality of place, and extending economic opportunities to include every individual and family across the state.

"Holding onto historical landmarks and cultural components are just as important [in the New Economy]," Shaheen says. "It's a real balance." —KH



Gov. Jeanne Shaheen
(D-N.H.)

Ron Sims

King County, Wash., Executive Ron Sims has made curbing sprawl — and, subsequently, pollution — his top priority over the last five years. The Seattle Democrat's comprehensive growth plan, updated in May, has given the city a boost and its rural outskirts a break by restricting local development primarily to the area's urban center.

"Seattle has become remarkably healthy and is enjoying people moving into downtown areas," says Sims, noting that 96 percent of growth occurs within the limits of the region's urban boundary line. He credits partnerships with local businesses, such as Microsoft and Boeing, and neighboring county executives with the region's successful "smart growth" approach to development.

"We've got developers talking to scientists who are talking to legislators who are talking to developers," Sims says. "We try to be very collaborative in our work, because it's the most effective way."

This summer, that type of collaboration will be a key factor in addressing and solving the region's problems with car and truck emissions. Much like they collectively protected an endangered species of salmon, Sims and his colleagues plan to sit down together to hammer out their own solution rather than wait for a federal reprimand.

"The wind blows over multiple jurisdictions, so it absolutely makes no sense to say, 'I'm only going to be concerned about

my own constituents' air today," Sims reasons. "You never need to create an 'us versus them' situation — that's old-fashioned politics. We wish to be 21st century politicians around here." —KH



Ron Sims
King County, Wash.,
Executive

Jim Pederson

A year ago, Arizona real estate developer Jim Pederson was on the backbench of state politics. Then the New Democrat committed himself — and much of his own money — to winning passage of a ballot initiative last November that took authority to redraw congressional and legislative districts away from the Republican-controlled state legislature and placed it in the hands of an independent commission. Now Pederson is chairman of the state Democratic Party.

"Ordinarily I'm not in favor of independent commissions doing things elected officials should be able to do," Pederson says, noting that the panel's work should be completed by summer's end. "But I knew that if we were ever going to return this state to a genuine two-party basis, we had to have a level playing field from the start."

As party chairman, Pederson has begun to neutralize the Arizona GOP's decade-long fundraising advantage over Democrats. His tactics appear to be working: A recent *Arizona Republic* article suggested that when the freshly re-elected Republican Party chairman abruptly relinquished his seat in May, it was due in part to concerns within the GOP that Pederson will be all too successful.

"I think the Republicans are seeing us in their rearview mirror catching up real quick, and, yes, I think they're concerned," says Pederson, adding that the two congressional seats Arizona gained through the 2000 census could give Democrats the margin they need to recapture the U.S. House in 2002. "I'm not the type of person that comes in and makes little incremental changes. We have this opportunity to make a lot of changes in a very short amount of time, and we're going to do it. I feel it in my bones." —KH



Jim Pederson
Arizona Democratic
Party Chairman

Digital cities

Mapping the metropolitan New Economy > by **Tom Mirga**

For metropolitan regions seeking an edge in the New Economy, a little bit of creative destruction can go a very long way.

According to new research by the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI), metro areas in which new businesses steadily replace outmoded ones and people switch jobs often enjoy far stronger employment and income growth than more economically staid regions. In fact, during the past decade a high level of "job churning" was the strongest predictor of a metro area's economic health.

The study, *The Metropolitan New Economy Index*, is the third in a series by PPI that seeks to benchmark America's transformation from the Industrial Age to the Information Era. The first report, issued in late 1998, focused on national trends, while the second,

issued in mid-1999, concentrated on state-level patterns.

The new study is perhaps the most important of the three, say its authors, Robert D. Atkinson of PPI and Paul D. Gottlieb of Case Western Reserve University. That's because metros — defined as one or more big city and its hinterlands — "are now the fundamental competitive units of the New Economy." Metro economies are no

longer defined by dense inner-city business and manufacturing hubs but by widely dispersed edge cities and business parks. "Because the metro area as a whole is the right unit for analysis," they note, "it's also the right unit for policy."

Atkinson and Gottlieb ranked the nation's 50 largest metro areas on the basis of 16 indicators that they say "best capture what is new about the New Economy." The indicators fall into five broad categories: knowledge jobs, globalization, economic dynamism and competition, transformation to a digital economy, and technological innovation capacity.

The metros farthest along on the path to the New Economy tend to have high concentrations of well-educated managers, professionals, and technicians; a high rate of adoption of new technology; an export-oriented business culture; many fast-growing entrepreneurial companies; and a solid "innovation infrastructure" rooted in high-achieving schools and colleges. More significantly, the top-ranked metro areas all have high rates of creative destruction. Job churning, a byproduct of new business start-ups and existing business



BETTER NOT BIGGER: Metro areas should aim to "get prosperous" rather than simply strive to gain more jobs and people, say study authors Robert D. Atkinson, top, and Paul D. Gottlieb.

failures, was the indicator most closely associated with employment growth during the past 10 years and was strongly correlated with growth in per-capita income.

The report also outlines policy strategies that metro areas should embrace to speed their transition to the New Economy.

Rather than strive to "get bigger," metros should aim to "get prosperous," the authors say. They shouldn't focus



TIMELINE

A brief history of **THE NEW DEMOCRAT MOVEMENT**

1981 >

House Democratic Caucus, chaired by **Rep. Gillis Long**, creates Committee on Party Effectiveness, a precursor to the Democratic Leadership Council.

1985 >

Democratic elected leaders form the DLC to bring party back into the political "mainstream."

Al From named DLC president.



1989 >

DLC releases *The Politics of Evasion*, a scathing critique of liberal Democratic electoral strategy, and creates a think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute. **Will Marshall** named PPI president.



1990 >

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton becomes DLC chairman. At Louisiana meeting, DLC issues **The New Orleans Declaration** urging Democrats to focus on economic growth, mainstream values, opportunity rather than entitlement, and national security.

simply on gaining more jobs and people, but on raising incomes through higher-wage jobs and expanded economic opportunities for the poor.

Similarly, metros need to begin competing on the basis of quality, not cost. "In the old economy, places sought to get big by 'getting cheap,'" Atkinson and Gottlieb write. "In the New Economy, the key to the success is to 'get better.'" Regions should shift their focus, they say, from providing businesses with tax breaks and other subsidies "to investing in the skills of the workforce, a vibrant infrastructure for technological innovation, and a superb quality of life."

Atkinson and Gottlieb identify seven strategies that metro policymakers should follow to "get better" and become more competitive in the New Economy (see accompanying box).

There's no guarantee that metro areas ruling the New Economy roost today will continue to do so, Atkinson and Gottlieb say. "Some of the metros with rankings in the middle of the pack (such as Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Cleveland) could see improvement over the next decade as recently enacted and proposed New Economy policies begin to bear fruit," they write. Meanwhile, "some higher ranking metropolitan areas may be resting on their laurels."

"Simply put," they conclude, "metropolitan areas that meet the challenges of the New Economy — focusing on innovation, learning, and constant adaptation — will be the ones that succeed and see the incomes of their residents grow the most." ♦

Top 50

> U.S. Metro Areas' New Economy Ratings

RANK	METRO AREA	SCORE	RANK	METRO AREA	SCORE
1 >	San Francisco	95.6	26 >	Richmond	32.3
2 >	Austin	77.9	27 >	St. Louis	31.9
3 >	Seattle	68.0	28 >	Detroit	31.8
4 >	Raleigh-Durham	61.4	29 >	Indianapolis	31.0
5 >	San Diego	61.4	30 >	Charlotte	31.0
6 >	Washington	60.6	31 >	Buffalo	30.9
7 >	Denver	58.1	32 >	Nashville	30.6
8 >	Boston	54.0	33 >	Cleveland	29.5
9 >	Salt Lake City	49.8	34 >	Cincinnati	28.9
10 >	Minneapolis	49.0	35 >	Las Vegas	28.8
11 >	Atlanta	48.6	36 >	Columbus	28.5
12 >	Dallas	46.0	37 >	Pittsburgh	27.1
13 >	Miami	45.6	38 >	New Orleans	27.0
14 >	Houston	45.3	39 >	Oklahoma City	27.0
15 >	Portland	42.7	40 >	Milwaukee	26.5
16 >	Phoenix	41.6	41 >	West Palm Beach	25.8
17 >	New York	39.5	42 >	Dayton	25.7
18 >	Philadelphia	38.3	43 >	Tampa	22.8
19 >	Chicago	37.7	44 >	Norfolk	22.4
20 >	Los Angeles	37.4	45 >	Greensboro	21.0
21 >	Rochester	36.1	46 >	Louisville	19.8
22 >	Hartford	35.6	47 >	Memphis	19.2
23 >	Sacramento	35.5	48 >	Jacksonville	18.7
24 >	Kansas City	35.0	49 >	San Antonio	15.0
25 >	Orlando	34.3	50 >	Grand Rapids	13.6

Top 50 Metro Average → 37.6

NOTE: Scores are out of a possible 100 points, with 100 the result of having the highest score in all five subcategories of indicators.

> The Seven Golden Rules of the Metro New Economy



- 1 > Know your region's economic function in the global economy
- 2 > Create a skilled workforce
- 3 > Invest in an infrastructure for innovation
- 4 > Create a great quality of life
- 5 > Foster an innovative business climate
- 6 > Reinvent and digitize government
- 7 > Take regional governance seriously

SOURCE: PPI

1991 >

DLC members begin calling themselves "New Democrats."
At Cleveland meeting, DLC issues **The New American Choice** resolutions advocating "opportunity, responsibility ... and a belief in community."
Clinton enters presidential race.



1992 >

Democrats nominate **Clinton** and adopt New Democrat-oriented platform. Clinton elected president.

1993 - 1994 >

PPI publishes **Mandate for Change**, a broad agenda for the new administration. Congress enacts bevy of DLC policies. Clinton pursues ill-fated health-care reforms ahead of welfare reform. GOP recaptures Congress.

BOOKS ▶▶

**Taking Trade to the Streets:
The Lost History of Public Efforts
to Shape Globalization** || By Susan Ariel

Aaronson • University of Michigan Press •

264 pp. • \$29.95 (cloth)

Most American schoolchildren are taught that the Boston Tea Party was, at bottom, a tax protest. But as Aaronson notes in her thoughtful new book, the "Mohawks" who turned Boston Harbor into one big teapot resented their powerlessness over their emerging nation's economic policies as much as, if not more than, the tax on tea itself. That same sense of resentment about economic and social decisions being imposed from afar by unaccountable bureaucrats is what's driving today's movement against increased economic globalization.

Aaronson, a senior fellow at the National Policy Association and a frequent contributor to *The New Democrat*, challenges supporters of the 1999 "battle in Seattle" and its sequels to stop throwing brickbats at the World Trade Organization and other international economic institutions. She urges them to join in the serious work of developing more just regulations for global trade.

Where to get it: www.press.umich.edu (for free Web version) and major online booksellers

INTERNET LOOKS ▶▶

healthleaders.com

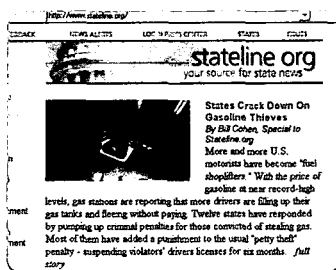
This free online daily news service includes Web links to articles in major U.S. newspapers and magazines on health-care and prescription-drug reform. Registered users can also participate in discussion forums and get daily email updates of the site's contents.

• **Where to get it:** www.healthleaders.com

Project on Defense Alternatives

The PDA, a unit of the Massachusetts-based Commonwealth Institute, is a think tank devoted to adapting U.S. military policy to post-Cold War realities. Its Web site offers exhaustive background, analysis, and commentary on topics such as the Revolution in Military Affairs, Chinese military power, and the Pentagon's quadrennial defense review.

• **Where to get it:** www.comw.org/pda



stateline.org

Published by the Pew Center on the States, stateline.org provides one-stop shopping for state policy news and background information on a host of topics. It includes a daily news summary with links to the full text of articles published in major U.S. newspapers.

• **Where to get it:** www.stateline.org

**Rethinking Special Education for a
New Century** || Edited by Chester E. Finn Jr.,

Andrew J. Rotherham, and Charles R. Hokanson Jr.

• Progressive Policy Institute and Thomas B.

Fordham Foundation • 364 pp. • free (softcover)

Special education is often described as the "third rail" of education policy. This collection of 14 papers examines the history of education for children with disabilities and makes recommendations for the coming reauthorization of the federal special-education law in 2002.

Where to get it: www.ppionline.org (for free Web version and to order a free single copy)

**The Reinventor's Fieldbook:
Tools for Transforming Your
Government** || By David Osborne and Peter

Plastrik • Jossey-Bass • 689 pp. • \$39.00 (softcover)

Osborne and Plastrik have written a comprehensive "cookbook" for reinventing government at all levels. The 15 chapters offer case studies and concrete advice on everything from managed competition to labor-management partnerships. Each chapter presents multiple tools for public leaders and managers, such as "lessons learned," "how-to's," and "pitfalls to avoid."

Where to get it: www.josseybass.com and major online booksellers

TIMEline

A brief history of **THE NEW DEMOCRAT MOVEMENT**

1995 >

Clinton reaffirms his commitment to New Democrat philosophy and backs balancing the federal budget. DLC makes building "a new generation" of New Democrat leaders a strategic priority.



1996 >

Clinton declares, "The era of big government is over." Signs welfare reform bill, campaigns on DLC themes, and is re-elected. House members form New Democrat Coalition. Senate members create New Democrat Network, a PAC independent of DLC.

1997 >

Election of Tony Blair's "New Labour" government in Britain marks major expansion of DLC philosophy abroad. Clinton and Congress reach historic agreement to balance budget.



THE BLUEPRINT INDEX || A Diary of the Progressive Opposition

Before there was BLUEPRINT, there was *The New Democrat*. Before *The New Democrat*, there was *The Mainstream Democrat*. Its editor was Bruce Reed, who wrote a barbed-pen Mainstream Index about the first Bush administration. When Bill Clinton ended all that, Reed went on to become the president's domestic policy adviser. Now returned to the Democratic Leadership Council as its president, Reed takes up his pen where he left it, still sharpened.

>> VALUES

VALUE	DIRECTION	STATE OF WORLD	DEFINITION	VALUE	DIRECTION	STATE OF WORLD	DEFINITION
Compassion	↓	Bush calls for new approach to War on Poverty, starting with a \$1.35 trillion tax cut for the rich.		Faith	↔	Stung by Pat Robertson's attack on his faith-based initiative, Bush considers new approach: faith-based food safety. At last, schoolchildren will learn to say grace before meals.	
Independence	↑	Jeffords shows Republicans what it's like to lose by one vote. Democrats' favorite bumper sticker: Don't Mess With Vermont.		Virtue	↔	Conservation makes it into Cheney's Book of Virtues, but not his energy plan. Soft money is the tribute that virtue pays to vice presidents.	
Honesty	↔	NBC ratings soar when West Wing's President Bartlett admits he lied about secret illness. Cable counters with <i>The Olson Twins</i> , about a crusading legal couple determined to force Bartlett out of office.		Ethics	↔	Senate Ethics Committee refuses to let senators play Who Wants to Be a Millionaire? on TV. Ruling preserves existing system that lets millionaires go on TV to play, <i>Who Wants to Be a Senator?</i>	
Tolerance	↓	John Ashcroft holds weekly prayer meetings at Justice Department. Best defense: If he were your boss, you'd pray too.		Thrift	↓	Budget surplus has worst first 100 days since William Henry Harrison. O'Neill, Rumsfeld plan bold stroke for next tax bill: \$500 billion in individual tax credits to let Americans build their own missile-defense shields.	
Wisdom	↔	Prices for "Whip Inflation Now" lapel pins soar on Ebay as Cheney, Rumsfeld, and other Bush appointees prompt nationwide nostalgia craze for Nixon-Ford era. New administration motto: Don't trust anyone under 60.		Greed	↑	Karl Rove sends Bush to Notre Dame to woo Catholics. Next moves: nickname first lady "Laura, Queen of Scots"; inform Vatican that <i>Bush v. Gore</i> gives Supreme Court the right to appoint Scalia pope.	

1998 - 1999 >

New Democrats score big wins in congressional, gubernatorial elections. DLC hosts historic meeting of five **Third Way** heads of government: Clinton, Blair, Kok (Netherlands), Schroeder (Germany), and D'Alema (Italy).



2000 >

DLC issues *The Hyde Park Declaration*, a policy agenda for the 21st century. Senators form New Democrat Coalition. Democrats pick **Sen. Joe Lieberman**, then DLC chair, as their candidate for vice president. Gore-Lieberman ticket loses election.

2001 >

Sen. Evan Bayh succeeds Lieberman as DLC chairman. New Democrats outline broad agenda to seize initiative back from GOP and build a lasting progressive majority in BLUEPRINT.

extras

New Democrats Online >

NDOL.org

Search: Extra Timeline

IDEAS of the WEEK > Every Friday on NDOL.org

School Infrastructure Banks

Too many kids attend overcrowded, obsolete, and even unsafe schools. Worse yet, the national debate over school construction has become mired in a stale left-right argument over federal vs. local responsibility.

Rep. Ellen Tauscher of California, the vice chair of the Democratic Leadership Council, recently introduced legislation that points to a "third way" on school construction. Under her bill, instead of financing school construction and repairs directly, the federal government would spend \$12.5 billion over five years to help individual states and multi-state compacts create "school infrastructure banks." The banks would help local school boards finance construction and renovation projects through low-interest loans, loan guarantees, and credit enhancement to reduce interest costs. Repayments would gradually transform the banks into self-sufficient revolving loan funds, as is the case now with similar banks created under the Clean Water Act and Safe Drinking Water Act. The bill also would guarantee charter schools a fair share of infrastructure financing.



A 21st-Century Energy Policy

President Bush has greenwashed his new energy policy with plenty of rhetoric about alternative energy sources and energy-efficient technologies. But at bottom, his approach would return us to 1970s energy policies fixated on domestic oil production to fuel an industrial economy.

The House New Democrat Coalition recently released a policy document that outlines a forward-looking national energy policy.

> Highlights of the NDC's 21st-Century Energy Agenda include:

- 1 > making existing fossil fuels cleaner and more efficient
- 2 > significantly increasing the use of wind and solar energy
- 3 > providing incentives for research, development, and use of technologies such as fuel cells, biomass, and geothermal energy
- 4 > providing incentives to encourage the purchase and construction of energy-efficient homes and businesses
- 5 > providing consumers with the information they need to make smart energy-use decisions
- 6 > promoting new, clean, and efficient power generation within a regulatory system that rewards clean technology and renewable energy sources
- 7 > encouraging investment in transmission and pipelines to promote safe, reliable, and efficient energy movement
- 8 > dramatically increasing research and investment in renewable energy sources and efficiency and conservation measures

PLAYbook

NDOL.org

A menu of ideas for
state and local
elected officials

CRIME AND PUBLIC SAFETY

- Racial Profiling
- DNA testing for convicted criminals
- HotSpots
- ComStat
- VINE
- Smart guns

INTERNET AND E-COMMERCE

- CitiStat
- Boosting digital opportunity
- E-government innovations
- Canning spam
- E-voting

EDUCATION

- Charter schools
- Online schools
- Teacher tenure
- School financing
- Education standards
- Probation officers in schools
- National Teacher Corporation
- Smart Start
- Charter districts
- Teacher pay
- Teacher home loans

ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORTATION, AND LAND USE

- Civic environmentalism
- Emission reduction
- SMART building codes
- HOT lanes
- Climate change

HEALTH CARE

- Online enrollment of the uninsured
- Consumer coalitions for prescription drug coverage and discounts
- State bulk purchasing pools for prescription drugs
- Patient's right to know
- Achieving universal coverage state by state
- Health Service Corps

STATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Regional skills alliances
- R & D tax credit
- New Economic development
- Performance-based grants
- Occupational training

SOCIAL AND FAMILY POLICY

- Earned Income Tax Credit
- Transportation for the working poor
- Child-care report cards
- Civic education
- IDAs for low-income Americans
- Universal national service
- Fatherhood
- Transitional jobs



TURNING THE TIDE:
In 1999, Peterson (inset)
became Indianapolis'
first Democratic mayor
in 32 years.

Racing ahead

Indianapolis is building a reputation as a proving ground for New Democrat innovation. > by **Graham J. Zajackowski**

For many Americans, Indianapolis conjures up images of the Indy 500. But soon the fastest race in town won't be at the fabled Brickyard but below ground in the sewers.

Under New Democrat Mayor Bart Peterson's leadership, Indianapolis has adopted a novel approach to installing fiber-optic data cable. Rather than rip up streets and aggravate commuters, the city is using sewers as a conduit for the high-speed network. Soon, information will be traveling through those pipes faster than Indy cars around the speedway.

Peterson and his city are earning praise for their innovative thinking about quality-of-life issues and New Economy infrastructure. For instance, the magazine *Employment Review* has named Indianapolis one of America's "best places to live and work."

Over the last 15 years, Indiana Democrats have regained control of both the governor's office and the state House. And in 1999 Peterson became Indianapolis' first Democratic mayor in 32 years. He credits the party's

turnaround in part to Sen. Evan Bayh's election as Indiana's secretary of state in 1986 and subsequent terms as governor.

Despite a GOP voter majority, "we have nonetheless seen Democrats assume almost all the dominant political positions in the state," Peterson notes. "We also have pursued and pushed New Democrat ideas and ideals, and that's why we've been successful."

Those ideas include using charter schools to speed the progress of public education reform. In May, Peterson became the nation's first mayor authorized to grant charters under a bill signed by New Democrat Gov. Frank O'Bannon. "My job is not to actually run a school, but to select the schools that can operate as charter schools," he explains. The mayor will defer day-to-day control over the schools to an eight-member board.

Peterson has also drawn attention for an ordinance prohibiting violent and sexually explicit video games in arcades. The city plans to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to reverse a lower court's ruling earlier this year that the law is unconstitutional. "I am absolutely convinced that interactive violence through violent video

games has an impact on some vulnerable children and can cause them to behave in more violent ways," Peterson says.

Indianapolis will always be known for its speeding racecars. But soon it might be just as well known as a proving ground for New Democrat innovation. ♦



WORTHrepeating

Our favorite quips and quotes

"Mr. Bush's main argument for the [tax] cut was that ... there's a pot of money and we should have it, not the folks in Washington ... 'I want that money' is not exactly an inspiring rallying cry or a coherent organizing principle for tax reform."

—**David Brooks** writing in *The New York Times* (June 1, 2001)

"More and more, I find I cannot [support the president's agenda]. ... Looking ahead, I can see more and more instances where I will disagree with the president on very fundamental issues. ..."

—**Sen. James Jeffords (I-Vt.)**
upon leaving the Republican Party
(May 24, 2001)

"Tolerance of dissent is the hallmark of a mature party, and it is well past time for the Republican Party to grow up."

—**Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.)**
on Jeffords' defection
(May 24, 2001)

"Charter schools are no panacea; 80 of them have already been shut down. But this is good. When they didn't follow through ... they were put out of business. Unfortunately, we can't do this with the rest of our public schools."

—**Kimberley A. Strassel**
writing in *opinionjournal.com*
(June 14, 2001)

Why.

It is a SMALL word, a mere *three letters* on a SCRABBLE board.

But it is a *quick*, sharp and ABRUPT word,
which can bring years of conventional assumptions to a jarring **halt**.
It is the chosen word of the nonconformist,
the **DEFIANT** and the *visionary*.

It is the nemesis of the pessimist, the defeatist and the *lazy*.

Why.

It is a CONFRONTATIONAL word.

It challenges what's thought *impossible*,
allowing us only to be *limited by our own ideas*
and not someone else's.

If we are not afraid to ask
"why?"
we can *change* whatever we want.



enron.com

ask **why**.



The Moose is loose

Bull Moose progressivism — the reform politics of Teddy Roosevelt in the 1912 election — has been mostly absent from American politics for decades. But the Moose has been sighted recently, roaming the political plains, and both the Democrats and Republicans had better pay attention. The Moose is a new force, a synthesis of the best of progressivism and conservatism.

The two parties, however, seem oblivious to the loose Moose since they are focused solely on appeasing their respective bases with either more tax cuts or more government spending. The Democrats say, “It’s your entitlement.” The Republicans say, “It’s your money.” This is a reverse JFK: “Ask not what you can do for your country, but rather what your country can do for your stock portfolio/benefit package.”

In contrast, the Bull Moose represents a politics of reform and reciprocity. Inspired by old T.R. himself and updated for the 21st century, the new progressivism advocates reform of the campaign finance system, entitlements, the tax code, and the budget process.

Remember the 1912 campaign. Then, former President Teddy Roosevelt challenged the Republican and Democratic Party establishments in a third party run. Although he was unsuccessful, the incumbent finished third and many of T.R.’s ideas were eventually incorporated into the New Deal.

But in the Republican Party, progressivism has been dormant for many years. The party’s orthodox conservatism has become ever more exhausted, as demonstrated by the appeal of John McCain’s insurgent candidacy in 2000. McCain’s message of political reform, patriotism, and an economics of the middle class struck a chord. It resonated with the most dynamic force on the political scene, the rise of the independents.

Yet the animating feature of modern Republicanism is reducing the top marginal tax rate and eliminating the inheritance tax. The recently enacted tax cut contains a puny growth component, drains vital resources from defense, and makes Social Security reform more difficult.

The tax bill lays bare the shallowness of conventional conservatism. Call it “dime store conservatism.” The president’s central argument for the bill underscores the vapidness of the measure — “It’s the people’s money.” Indeed it is. But it’s also the people’s national missile defense, the people’s national service, and the people’s national highway system. The president’s argument is for a cramped, atomized view of America that fails to inspire greatness.

The media and the Democrats, however, commit a major

blunder when they suggest that the Bush administration is too rigidly “right wing.” In reality it is extremely flexible; call it “Gumby conservatism.” On the domestic front it is reliably pro-corporate, but it will relent in the face of environmental counter-assault. On foreign policy, it is alternately bellicose and supine (note the “apology” letter to the Chinese over the plane incident).

So, what about the Democrats? In the (partial) opposition, the Democrats seem to be going retro — a return to the pre-New Democrat Dukakis and Mondale positions. The Democrats are reaching back for their golden oldies from the ’80s, attacking “Star Wars.” Do the Democrats really want to be the party that keeps America defenseless? Rather than reforming entitlements, Democrats seem to have an insatiable appetite for yet more federal spending programs. In lieu of serious political argument, the Democrats lazily hurl the political epithet that the Bush administration is “extremist.”

What is striking is that Democrats seem to have forgotten what they should have learned from Bill Clinton. While there is much worth forgetting in his legacy, Clinton was successful in winning the White House in 1992 by employing a centrist critique of the first Bush administration. Clinton attacked it from a human rights-interventionist posture on foreign policy. He advocated the “end of welfare as we know it.” Ironically, it was only by betraying his New Democrat cultural roots with his personal behavior that Clinton prevented the Democrats from retaining the White House.

Modern adherents of the Bull Moose can draw from the examples of T.R. as well as from President Kennedy and the New Democrats. They can press for universal national service since the greatest challenge to our nation is not a material one, but one of renewing the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship. The nation should begin moving toward the goal of making service, including military, a rite of passage for all young Americans.

Finally, this third force adopts T.R.’s and Ronald Reagan’s notion of national greatness. We are strong believers in America’s “benevolent hegemony” on the world stage — with a robust internationalism and a formidable military.

With the Moose again roaming our plains, this new force may emerge within the body politic. The political parties ignore it at their peril.

► **Marshall Wittmann** is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and director of the Project for Conservative Reform.

The White Male Problem

Most don't vote Democratic, but many can be won back.

by **William A. Galston**

Nearly every major development of the past generation worked to push white men away from the Democratic Party. For some, the civil rights revolution was the trigger; for others, it was the rise of feminism and its institutionalization in the party's official structure that drove them away. The rhetoric employed by high-profile extremists in these movements, who denounced white men as racist and patriarchal oppressors, exacerbated these effects. Conflict within the Democratic Party sparked by the events of 1968 led to rules changes that diminished the power of labor unions, for decades centers of white male political influence and social standing.

Developments in foreign and defense policy also played a role. The Democratic Party became the epicenter of opposition to the Vietnam War, a stance that spilled over into a broader critique of the Cold War, the defense budget, the foreign policy establishment, our assertive internationalism, and of the United States itself. These developments offended many white men who were traditional patriots and favored a strong national defense.



TOUGH CUSTOMERS: Whether they're hard hats or participants at religious rallies, white men are a hard sell for the Democratic Party. But Democrats can diminish the intensity of white male opposition by embracing moderate positions on cultural issues.

>> **William A. Galston**, a member of BLUEPRINT's advisory board, is a professor at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs and director of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy. He also directs the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts.



Gun control, which many white men saw as the translation of defense dovishness into domestic policy, made matters worse and helped cement the Democrats' image as the party of weakness.

At the same time, the role of government shifted. As Anna Greenberg and others have pointed out, white males were the principal beneficiaries of New Deal policies. By contrast, Great Society programs largely aided women and minorities. And for two decades (1973-1993), the federal government failed to address the problem of wage stagnation, which hit less well-educated white men especially hard. Even the more successful economic strategy of the Clinton years did relatively little for men in the heart of the middle class. Instead, those policies improved the status of the working poor (through the Earned Income Tax Credit), helped minorities who found jobs for the first time in tight labor markets, and benefited professionals whose skills were in increased demand. By the 2000 presidential

election, the majority of upscale white men came to believe that they needed nothing from government except to be left alone, while many downscale white men concluded that government either did not understand how to help them or did not care enough to do so. Because differing attitudes toward the role of government continue to define the left-right continuum in American politics, the rise of anti-government sentiment among white men produced a shift toward ideological conservatism. And because the major political parties have become more ideologically polarized, this shift in white male sentiment led inexorably to a move away from the Democrats.

These trends came to a head in last year's presidential election. Al Gore received only 36 percent of the white male vote, less than Bill Clinton in either 1992 or 1996, and no more than Michael Dukakis received

in his eight-point loss to George H.W. Bush in 1988. Gore's showing is even worse than it looks. The Perot insurgency siphoned off 22 percent of the white male vote in 1992 and 11 percent in 1996. The collapse of the Reform Party in 2000 freed up a substantial bloc of white male voters. In effect, Gore picked up none of them.

The Gore campaign's much discussed populist turn in the late summer and fall of 2000 was at its heart an effort to bolster the candidate's support among white male voters, especially those with modest income and education. But as Ruy Teixeira, a longtime advocate of this strategy, has written, Bush won 63 percent of white men without a four-year college degree, a 29-point margin over Gore (up from Bob Dole's seven-point edge in 1996). Similarly, Bush carried white men with incomes under \$75,000 by 23 points, up from an eight-point margin in 1996.

While Bush's gains among white males were especially striking for the

The White Male Problem

middle and working class, they extended across class lines. He won 61 percent of college-educated white men and 62 percent of those with incomes in excess of \$75,000. By contrast, Gore did better than Clinton among black men and fought Bush to a draw among white women. For white men, race and gender trumped class divisions.

The pro-Republican surge among white males was not confined to the presidential election and thus cannot be interpreted simply as a personal rejection of Gore. White men favored Republican House candidates by 59 percent to 38 percent, Republican Senate candidates 60 percent to 38 percent, and Republican governors 60 percent to 39 percent.

Today, white males form about 39 percent of the electorate. The Republican margin of 20 to 25 percentage points among white males thus translates into an edge of between 8 percent and 10 percent of the entire electorate. By comparison, African-Americans form 10 percent of the electorate, and the Democrats' 80-point margin in this group translates into an eight-percent edge in the electorate as a whole. Republican strength among white men more than offsets Democrats' dominance of the African-American vote.

Prior to the cliffhanger in 2000, the most recent close presidential election occurred in 1976, when Jimmy Carter edged Gerald Ford by two percentage points (50 to 48) in the popular vote. A comparison of the narrowly divided electorates in these two contests illustrates the changing role of white males in American politics.

A familiar feature of contemporary politics is the gender gap, and last year's presidential election was no exception. Al Gore prevailed among women by 11

percentage points (54/43) while losing men to George Bush by the same margin (53/42). By contrast, there was no gender gap whatever in 1976; Carter's margin was the same among men and women (50/48). The gender gap is more a reflection of men leaving the Democratic Party than of women joining it.

Another familiar feature of our politics is the racial gap. George W. Bush carried the white vote 54 percent to 42 percent while receiving only 8 percent of the black vote — the lowest percentage ever recorded by a Republican presidential candidate (even Ronald Reagan did better). In 1976, Carter lost the white vote by only five points (52/47) while racking up 83 percent of the black vote to Ford's 16 percent (twice Bush's share in 2000).

The widening of the racial gap was shaped by gender. Gore did slightly better than Carter among white women (48 percent versus 46 percent), but this was more than offset by his drop among white men from Carter's 47 percent to only 36 percent.

The significance of geography has shifted during the past quarter century. Jimmy Carter received roughly the same share of the white vote in every region of the country, ranging from a high of 49 percent in the East to a low of 44 percent in the West. (His share of the Southern white vote — 47 percent — was identical to his national total.) By contrast, Gore's performance among whites was strongly affected by regionalism. His share of the white vote in the East was three points higher than Carter's (52 percent); his share of the Midwestern and Western white vote was almost the same as Carter's; and his share of the Southern white vote was fully 16 points lower (31 percent) than Carter's and 11 points lower than his national total among white voters. White men were largely responsible for this Southern shift (Gore got only 27 percent); after the turmoil of the 1960s and early 1970s, support for Democrats stabilized among Southern white women.

To the extent that the flight of white men from the Democratic Party reflects the lingering effects of the civil rights and women's

rights movements, there is little that Democrats can or should do to reverse the tide. Racial and gender equality are fundamental organizing principles of the contemporary Democratic Party and represent irreversible moral commitments. Nor is the party likely to change its core position on abortion, although it could do more to signal that it welcomes a range of views on this subject and could relax its intransigent opposition to what many moderate voters see as reasonable limits. The exclusion of pro-life Democrat Bob Casey from the convention podium in 1992 rankled many voters who were only moderately opposed to abortion; the same goes for the party's current stance in favor of "partial-birth" abortion procedures.

For the foreseeable future, Democrats cannot regain the position among white men they enjoyed in 1976 any more than Republicans can regain their standing as the party of Abraham Lincoln (or even Richard Nixon) among African-Americans. While more nuanced stances on hot-button cultural issues may help, particularly when combined with progressive New Democrat positions on the role of government and the economic prospects of the middle class, Democrats cannot hope to compete on equal terms in small towns and rural areas. Taken too far, moreover, efforts to move in that direction could backfire among moderate suburban voters, the most rapidly growing sector of the electorate and one in which Bill Clinton scored substantial gains in the 1990s.

In sum, the most realistic strategic objective is to diminish the intensity of white male opposition to the national Democratic Party while retaining the support of key minority groups and bolstering suburban gains, especially among white women. To execute this strategy, embracing moderate positions on cultural issues based on mainstream values is a necessity. But for today's Democratic

Understanding

White Men

The trends and issues that influenced their votes in 2000

To assess what Democrats can do about voting trends among white men, it is important to understand the white male electorate, based on the 2000 election.

Demographics

As a group, white male voters tend to be highly educated and relatively prosperous. In 2000, fully 46 percent had at least a college degree, versus only 24 percent with no more than a high school diploma. (The remaining 30 percent had some education beyond high school but less than a four-year college degree.) A remarkable 58 percent came from households with annual incomes of \$50,000 or more, 33 percent with \$75,000 or more. By contrast, only 18 percent had incomes under \$30,000. White men are significantly less likely than others to live in urban centers and more likely to live in suburbs or rural areas. Only 6 percent of white men live in large cities (with populations of 500,000 or more) versus 9 percent of the population as a whole; 17 percent (versus 20 percent) live in mid-size cities with populations from 50,000 to 500,000.

Ideology

As a group, white men are substantially more conservative than is the electorate as a whole. Only 16 percent identify themselves as liberal, versus 20 percent for the general electorate; by contrast, 35 percent regard themselves as conservative (versus 29 percent).

Not surprisingly, only 19 percent of white men saw Al Gore as sharing their view of government (versus 30 percent for the electorate as a whole), while 43 percent saw George W. Bush as sharing their view of government (34 percent for the electorate). Fifty-seven percent of

white men saw Gore as too liberal on the issues; only 34 percent thought he was "about right." Conversely, 58 percent thought Bush was "about right" on the issues, while only 36 percent thought he was too conservative.

Issues

As a group, white men in 2000 displayed a distinctive outlook in three key issue areas: economics and the role of government; defense and foreign policy; and social and cultural issues.

Economics and the role of government. Only 32 percent of white men believe that government should do more, versus 45 percent of the electorate as a whole. White men give a higher priority than do other voters to cutting federal income taxes and reducing the national debt and a lower priority to protecting Social Security and other domestic programs. When asked last fall, a plurality of white men felt that the new president should cut taxes before doing anything else. They were also more supportive of across-the-board, rather than targeted, tax cuts than was the electorate as a whole. While a solid majority of the electorate was willing to consider investing a portion of payroll taxes in private Social Security accounts, white men supported this proposal by an overwhelming 66 percent to 34 percent.

Defense and foreign policy. White men are somewhat more likely than other voters to cite world affairs as the single issue that matters most, and they are much more likely to believe that the U.S. military has gotten weaker during the past eight years. While the electorate as a whole had more confidence in Gore's ability to handle an international crisis than in Bush's, white men felt just the reverse.

Social and cultural issues. In some respects, the outlook of white men on social and cultural issues tracks that of the electorate as a whole. White men are no more likely than others to believe that the country is on the wrong track, morally speaking; that the president should be a moral leader as opposed to a government manager; or that abortion should be illegal in most or all circumstances. On



LEANING RIGHT: Thirty-five percent of white men identify themselves as conservative, while only 16 percent regard themselves as liberal.

the other hand, there is a huge gap between white men and others on the issue of guns. While 62 percent of the electorate support stricter gun laws, that figure falls to 45 percent for white men. This gap played a significant role in the 2000 presidential election, when the share of voters from gun-owning households surged to 48 percent, up from 37 percent in 1996. A post-election survey by pollster Stanley Greenberg also found that other cultural issues — especially Gore's down-the-line support for abortion and perceived support for gay civil unions — helped drive white males toward Bush. —WAG

The White Male Problem

Party, neither cultural conservatism nor an anti-government stance is an option. If that is what it takes to regain full competitiveness among white men, the price is too high.

How can Democrats cut their losses? In many respects, white men are looking for the same reassurance that the Democratic ticket failed to provide voters in the 1970s and 1980s, but successfully conveyed in the 1990s — that Democrats share their values, look out for their eco-

Democratic presidential nomination to adopt the most extreme versions of their favored positions really advances the causes for which they are fighting. Potential nominees should weigh their primary strategies in light of the requirements of the general election. And they should realize that tone matters as well as substance. If Democrats speak about gun control and gay rights in ways that imply that no decent and reasonable person could have a different view, voters who feel marginalized, even demonized, by this kind of rhetoric will be bound to retaliate.

It is clear from the evidence that white men have a distinctive cultural outlook. Even more than most Americans, they prize independence, individual choice,

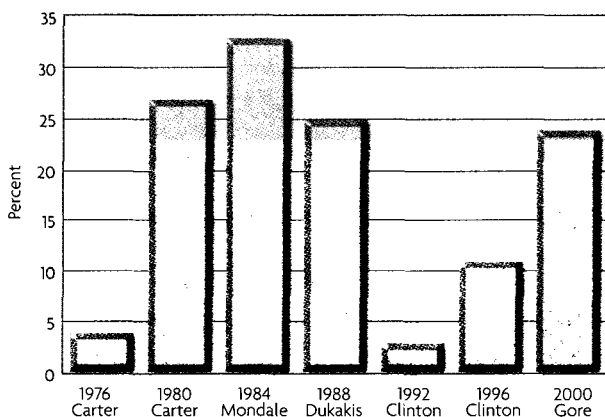
and personal integrity and strength. Men gravitate toward candidates they see as having the courage to stand up against the odds, even against the majority (witness the strong white male support for Ross Perot in 1992 and John McCain in 2000). White men care less about verbal facility and eloquence than they do about the reliability of words spoken. Gore's poor showing among Perot's former followers and McCain's

compelling issues. The next Democratic nominee would do well to focus on a new generation of reform issues — government operations, the tax code, health care, and entitlements — and to articulate bold positions in common-sense terms.

Democrats should flesh out a progressive position on the role of government with an agenda that speaks to the interests of the still-forgotten middle class. The economic changes of the past generation have greatly improved the income and wealth of the upper middle class, and public policies such as welfare reform and an expanded Earned Income Tax Credit have begun to address the problems of the poor and near poor. But while the rapid income gains of the second Clinton term were more broadly shared than at any time since the early 1970s, the heart of the middle class has continued to struggle during the past two decades under the burden of stagnant wages and incomes and the continued erosion of unionized employment, particularly in manufacturing — all trends that have hit white men especially hard. New Democrats will not be able to sustain an economic agenda of competition, technological change, and globalization without dramatic and credible policies in areas such as job training and retraining, wage insurance, and benefits that continue through periods of unemployment.

For white men, as for many other Americans, the role of government is in part an issue of values. The New Democratic stance on this issue — that government should equip people to solve their own problems — enjoys substantial majority support. Unfortunately, more voters saw Bush as closer to this position than Gore, who came to be regarded as an advocate of the traditional liberal stance that government should solve problems and protect people from adversity. While attractive to many minorities and women, this stance is guaranteed to repel most white men. The Democrats' next nominee would do better to return to a position on the role of government that, rather than polarizing groups along ideological lines, helps rally a broad coalition of the center. ●

Margin by which Democratic presidential candidates lost the white male vote to GOP candidates



nomic interests, and will stand up for America's role in the world. In 1996, that message helped Bill Clinton to carry white voters in the East and Midwest and to nearly do so in the West.

In 2000, the dynamics of the primary campaign led the eventual nominee toward stances on gun control and gay rights that did not serve him well among most white male voters in the general election. While many Democrats — including this writer — fully supported Gore's stance on these issues, it is clear that such principled positions entailed significant political cost. Looking toward 2004, committed advocates must ask themselves whether pressuring candidates for the

disappointed supporters substantially weakened his candidacy. And by defying conventional wisdom about the irrelevance of defense issues in the post-Cold War era, Bush parlayed his advocacy of a rebuilt military into a perception of firmness and strength that fortified his standing among white men.

In the next election, Democrats must give more consideration to choice-based policies that invoke the value of independence; to considerations of personal integrity, especially scrupulous and conspicuous truth telling; to defense and foreign policy; and to the imperatives of reform. Perot and McCain demonstrated the power of reform rhetoric linked to

The California

A centrist message was the key to winning in the suburbs.

by Rep. Adam Schiff

Last November, only four Republican incumbents were defeated in congressional races around the country — not enough to change control of the U.S. House of Representatives. Three of the four Democratic victories took place in California, all of them in suburban districts. And emerging from each of these victories were New Democrat candidates, whose campaigns and messages bear clear lessons for Democrats seeking to retake the House in 2002.

It is tempting to dismiss the significance of these three victories by concluding merely that they occurred in a state where Al Gore ran ahead of George W. Bush or that New Democrats ran against three of the weakest incumbents in the country. But neither of these simplistic explanations holds up under scrutiny. Moreover, if we don't examine why challengers were so successful in California — and so dramatically unsuccessful everywhere else — we could doom the Democratic Party to another fruitless effort in 2002.

Certainly it is true that the California candidates benefited from George Bush's failure to carry the state. But many well-funded Democratic candidates around the nation lost in states where Al Gore prevailed at the top of the ticket. Republicans Mike Rogers in Michigan and Mike Ferguson in New Jersey won open seat races against well-funded Democrats in Gore states. Even Democratic incumbents Sam Gejdenson of Connecticut and David Minge of Minnesota lost their seats in states that went for Gore.

Nor were the California Republican targets easy marks, by any means. Steve Kuykendall, ousted from office by Jane

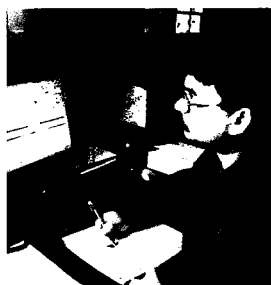
Harman, was a former Marine and considered a moderate in the Republican conference. Brian Bilbray, an outspoken advocate on environmental issues and a moderate well suited to his San Diego district, was nonetheless defeated by Susan Davis. My own opponent, James Rogan, although certainly the most ideologically extreme of the trio, had money to make up for what he lacked in compatibility with his district — at \$6.8 million, he was the best funded incumbent in the nation.

I believe these three suburban Democratic successes were more the result of the New Democrat themes we emphasized in our campaigns and of how we tailored those messages to our background, experience and district, than of any failings on the part of our opponents or a compelling tide at the top of the ticket.

Susan Davis, a former school board member and state assemblywoman active on education issues, advocated educational investments and accountability, goals that resonated in her district. With her extensive background in education, she was a credible champion of the need to close the achievement gap between rich and poor, to recruit and retain good teachers, and to jettison failed methods. This was the number one concern of voters everywhere, and her greater strength on the issue carried the day even against an opponent who was frequently lionized in the district's major newspaper.

Jane Harman tailored New Democrat ideas to her campaign by focusing on the

need to keep the economy booming in a high tech district that had already suffered a major economic dislocation when defense contractor downsizing resulted in massive layoffs. Her emphasis on maintaining fiscal discipline, paying down the debt, expanding overseas markets, and investing in new technologies to fuel the New Economy was just the right focus for her background and constituency.



COURTING WIRED WORKERS:

New Democrats struck a chord with California's suburban high-tech constituency by emphasizing the need to keep the economy rolling.

In my own campaign, I focused heavily on opportunity, responsibility, and community. As an adjunct professor and author of landmark textbook legislation in the state Senate, I emphasized the need to expand opportunity with better public schools and more affordable higher education. Drawing on my years as a prosecutor, I also campaigned in favor of tough but smart public safety policies that held

people responsible for their actions while giving at-risk youth every opportunity to succeed.

But I stressed nothing more than the need to make the federal government a better partner in strengthening our communities — with safer neighborhoods, more open space, cleaner water, light rail transit, and responsive representation. When my opponent, in an interview with *The Wall Street Journal*, disparaged me by saying that I should be running for city council — not Congress — I knew we were hitting the mark.

All politics is local, and while not every New Democrat candidate was successful, I suspect that those who succeeded found a way to tailor the New Democrat philosophy to their own strengths and the needs of their districts. And this may be the best formula for the elusive victories Democrats need in the suburbs and in the South. ♦

Rep. Adam Schiff is a member of Congress from California's 27th district.

No aspect of the lifestyle divide that marked the 2000 presidential election is, at first glance, more important than religion. The country's middle and Southern sections are also its most Protestant sections. Those who live there, moreover, tend to be more regular in their church attendance and more devout in their belief than those who live at the country's borders. Exit polling conducted during the election confirmed these impressions. Those who claimed to attend religious services more than

once a week voted 63 percent for George Bush and 36 percent for Al Gore. Nearly identical percentages divided those who thought that, morally speaking, the country is in deep trouble. Sixty-one percent of those who claimed to have no religion voted for Gore compared to 30 percent for Bush.

Faith Matters

With common sense and respect for others' choices, Democrats can reconnect with religious voters.

by **Alan Wolfe**

Despite these trends, it would be incorrect — indeed, it would be scurrilous — to conclude that the Republicans are the party of faith and Democrats the party of the godless. For one thing, the electoral division of 2000 is a political division, not a moral one: The heartland areas have always been more conservative than the coasts, a fact of life that is as true of Canada, which does not have deep moral divisions, as it is of the United States. (Canadians held a national election shortly before the American one, and they produced an electoral map almost identical to ours). For another, African-Americans, among the most religious of all Americans, are overwhelmingly Democratic, as are Jews. Third, the electoral divide was a divide among those motivated enough to vote; surveys show that the “religious gap” is narrower when all Americans, not just those who vote, are counted. Finally, sociologists have demonstrated convincingly that large numbers of people who say to pollsters that they attend

>> **Alan Wolfe** is director of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College. He is also the author of *Moral Freedom: The Search for Virtue in a World of Choice* (W. W. Norton, 2001).



FOLLOW ME? A Texas man bears a cross during a protest against a U.S. Supreme Court ruling banning school-sanctioned prayers before sporting events. Democrats can court such voters with moderation on other cultural issues, such as abortion, sex and violence on television, and faith-based initiatives.



EXPLODING STEREO While Republicans don't have a lock on all evangelical Protestants, two-thirds of African-American Protestants are evangelicals, and Al Gore won 96 percent of this group's vote.

Many Mansions

Churchgoers don't fit into neat political pigeonholes.

by **Ed Kilgore**

However much people insist on a monolithic portrait of religion and politics in America, the truth is that our religious landscape is as varied and complicated as the country itself. People of faith are as deeply divided on the moral and cultural issues that tend to spill over into politics as they have ever been on issues of theology or worship.

According to the latest survey by the Pew Research Center, the basic religious demography of the country is this: 82 percent of Americans are Christians, 4 percent are of non-Christian faiths, and 11 percent are nonbelievers or religiously unaffiliated.

Among Christians, 23 percent define themselves as white evangelical Protestants; 19 percent as white mainline Protestants; 9 percent as black Protestants; 23 percent as Roman Catholics; and 6 percent as other Christians, including

Eastern Orthodox and Mormons.

But all these neat categories contain many subgroups with different views. Protestants, for example, are split into many denominations. American Catholics are almost equally riven between traditionalists and liberals, and the Church hierarchy itself, teaching a distinctive blend of cultural conservatism and social activism, is difficult to pigeonhole. Moreover, throughout American Christianity — Protestant and Catholic; black, white, and Hispanic — there is a rapidly growing Pentecostal, or "Acharismatic," movement that tends to be culturally conservative but politically unpredictable.

The voting behavior of different religious groups does not always comport with the common view that political ideology follows religious ideology along a left-right spectrum. For instance, not all evangelicals are Republicans, nor are all Unitarians raving liberal Democrats.

According to a University of Akron analysis of the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush did (as one might expect) spectacularly well among white evangelical Protestants, carrying 76 percent of that vote. But he also won 61 percent of the vote of white mainline Protestants — members of denominations with notably liberal views on many cultural and political issues. In fact, the biggest split among white Protestants was not between the evangelical and mainline wings, but between those who attend church at least once a week and those who don't. Bush won only 55 percent of "less observant" white evangelicals but won 66 percent of "more observant" white mainliners.

The same pattern held true with white Roman Catholics in 2000: "More observant" Catholics went for Bush by a 57-43 margin, while the "less observant" went for Gore 59-41.

Aside from frequency of church attendance, ethnicity can also trump religious "conservatism" or "liberalism" in voting behavior. Even though (according to the Pew survey) two-thirds of African-American Protestants are evangelicals, Gore won 96 percent of this group's vote. Hispanic Protestants are most often found among the most conservative denominations, yet they went for Gore

by a 2-1 ratio (a bigger margin than Clinton won in 1996). Hispanic Catholics went for Gore 76-24.

All these crosscurrents suggest that efforts by either party to appeal to voters on the basis of their religious views are fraught with peril. Indeed, the Pew survey has one key finding that suggests the best approach for the parties with respect to people of faith is to capture the political "center." Pew asked Christian respondents to classify themselves from both an ideological and a partisan point of view among eight groups from left to right, and among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. The percentage identifying themselves with a centrist ideology ranges from a low of 37 percent among white evangelical Protestants to a high of 65 percent among black evangelical Protestants. Fifty-four percent of white Catholics, 51 percent of black mainline Protestants, and 47 percent of white mainline Protestants also opt for a centrist category.

In other words, the party that captures the "vital center" of politics is also the best positioned with respect to most categories of religious Americans.

The political team surrounding George W. Bush seems to understand that point pretty clearly. The president's supposed ideology of "compassionate conservatism" is perfectly designed to appeal to people who want to combine conservative values with a strong commitment to social justice. Indeed, there's abundant evidence that the "compassionate conservative" message is especially aimed at appealing to white Catholic voters, who still lean Democratic.

Aside from Alan Wolfe's advice that Democrats should avoid identifying themselves with anti-religious secularism, the remarkable diversity of the American faithful suggests a New Democratic message that can compete with "compassionate conservatism" in appealing to the mainstream values and progressive, generous impulses so common across the religious spectrum. ♦

Ed Kilgore is policy director of the Democratic Leadership Council.

Faith Matters

church do not; what exit polls show, therefore, is that those who want to be viewed as religious — not necessarily those who are religious — are more likely to vote Republican.

Nonetheless, there is no escaping the political reality that if Democrats are to return to power, they will have to do better, much better, among religious voters. There are good reasons to believe that they can. In order to do so, however, they must first recognize why Republicans tend to gain the religious vote. Then they can take advantage of the fact that, although large numbers of Americans are religious, they are not religious absolutists and hence not automatically in the conservative camp.

Religious conservatives lean toward the Republicans because they believe that secular humanism shapes the culture of the United States, leaving little place for those who put their faith in God. Empirically speaking, this is not an accurate description of America, which remains a predominantly Christian country and continues to treat non-believers as less than fully trustworthy. But if wrong on the facts, the traditionalist complaint is true enough in its sentiments. Since the United States Supreme Court began interpreting the First Amendment's religious clauses in the 1940s, strict separationists have fashioned a jurisprudence that allows little if any place for religion's public manifestations. Organizations such as People for the American Way, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Americans United for Separation of

Church and State argue for a neutrality between religion and non-religion that believers understand to be anything but neutral. And some writers on the left, such as *The Nation's* Ellen Willis, claim that democracy requires both a secular state and a secular ethos, essentially saying to evangelicals and other strong religious believers that they have no legitimate place in our public life.

Democratic politicians are not responsible for what judges decide and intellectuals write. But they can and should recognize that America has so many religions and so many ways of



BIBLE READERS, NOT THUMPERS: Being religious is not the same as being a religious absolutist.

practicing them, that there is little likelihood that a modest role for faith in the public square will create an oppressive theocracy in the United States. To his credit, Sen. Joe Lieberman spoke directly to these issues in the 2000 campaign. Sometimes he went too far; one campaign speech in Detroit equating religious people with moral people failed to recognize that not all believers are good people and not all agnostics bad ones. Still, Lieberman's selection on the national ticket of the Democratic Party was historic, not only because he was a Jew, but because faith was so much part of his persona. As perhaps

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the most religious person in the presidential race, Lieberman repudiated the extreme secularism of the Democratic Party in ways similar to Bill Clinton's repudiation of its wayward economic liberalism. And as a Jew, he did this without invoking the specter of an evangelical takeover of the United States.

Republicans may have trouble locking up the votes of religious people because of their often serious misunderstanding of the ways Americans think about religion and politics. According to Ryan Lizza, writing in *The New Republic*, Republicans are convinced that if they can add the votes of devout Catholics to those of evangelical Protestants, they can

prominent Catholic bishops and conservative Catholic intellectuals in the hopes of winning votes is not unlike the efforts of Democrats to appeal to union leaders in the hopes of winning working-class votes. The one did not happen, and neither, in all probability, will the other.

What is true of Catholics is true of most religious believers in America. Evangelicals who are theologically conservative are not always politically conservative, and even those who are both — such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell — do not always support Republican policies. (Both Falwell and Robertson have been critical of Bush's new Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives). As sociologist Christian Smith of the University of North Carolina has demonstrated, evangelicals are little different from the rest of America, sociologically speaking. Increasingly college-educated,

their own faith. The Pew Survey makes it clear that Americans are a religious, but not a theological, people. The notion that Republicans, or members of any other political party, have a special relationship with God would deeply offend them.

The views of the American people make it possible for Democrats to compete with Republicans for the allegiance of religious voters. It is insufficient for them simply to mouth platitudes about faith. Nor should they move to the opposite extreme and proclaim themselves to be born-again Christians, a tactic as wrong-headed as it would be insincere. Instead, Democrats should build on what Lieberman began. Here are some suggestions on how they might do so.

While Republicans are often perceived as too friendly toward business, Democrats are judged negatively for their close ties to Hollywood.

66 The views of the **American people** make it possible for **Democrats to compete** with Republicans for the allegiance of **religious voters**. 99

fashion a new majority. It is instructive, however, that in their efforts to accomplish this goal, Republicans are seeking to cooperate with the church leadership. The problem for them is that most American Catholics do not take the words of their leadership as determinative of their moral decisions. By overwhelming majorities, American Catholics believe that one can be divorced — or even have had an abortion — and still be a good Catholic. The Church's positions on birth control and the non-ordination of women are similarly not popular with Catholics. (One reason why so many Latinos are attracted to evangelical Protestant denominations is their determination to control the size of their families). Catholic politicians, such as Pennsylvania's Republican Gov. Tom Ridge, understand that they cannot follow a strict interpretation of church teachings, even on matters as sensitive as abortion, and expect to win office. To appeal to

suburban, and upwardly mobile, evangelicals, he writes, often express "a strong distaste for confrontational, disruptive politics," including those associated with anti-abortion protesters. Their instincts are conservative, for both economic and theological reasons. But if they think that Republicans identify too strongly with extremist positions, their moderation will lead them toward political independence.

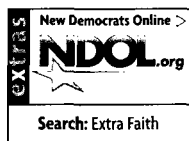
Americans of all faiths worry about efforts to blend religion and politics. An April 2001 poll conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press showed that 68 percent of

those surveyed were concerned that under President Bush's faith-based initiative, government might become too involved with religious organizations. Even more resound-

ingly, 78 percent of those surveyed opposed proposals that would permit faith-based organizations that receive government funds to hire only people of

During the 2000 election, Al Gore and Joe Lieberman sought to distance themselves from Hollywood, but their efforts were not convincing. Without calling for government censorship, Democrats ought to make it clear that they share the American public's strong distaste for the sex and violence portrayed on television, and they should "jawbone" their friends in the entertainment industry to clean up their act — or face an unfriendly Federal Communications Commission.

Americans have qualms about abortion, but they also distrust extremism and value personal choice. That helps explain why, for every vote Democrats lose to Republicans on a pro-life basis, they gain others on the basis of pro-choice. Without moving in the direction of an extremism that insists on abortion on demand, Democrats can vow to uphold *Roe v. Wade* with more sincerity than can, say, Attorney General John Ashcroft. Moreover, precisely because they respect life, Americans can be per-



suaded to support the notion that the federal government ought to be involved in stem-cell research as a way of curing debilitating disease. Democrats can respect religious values without questioning the benefits of modern science.

Democrats should strongly support the idea of "faith-based initiatives," plans to use public funds to support religious charities. They should insist that faith-based organizations that receive government money be barred from discriminating on the basis of religion, a provision not included in the leading Republican proposals. This is not only the popular position, according to the Pew survey; it is also the position that makes the most constitutional, political, and moral sense. Americans want to see that their political parties take religion seriously and accord it importance. They do not want to see their money used to support sectarian and dogmatic groups.

There will not, and there should not be, any simple one-to-one correlation between the approach any political party takes toward religion and its ability to win the votes of the religious.

Politics is immediate and pragmatic; religion is tradition-bound and otherworldly. At the same time, people with strong religious convictions, like all other Americans, are citizens whose views about morality shape the way they think about programs and policy. The great majority of America's religious believers

are not close-minded dogmatists. Moderate in religion as they are in politics, they look most of all for common sense in their leaders. When it comes to morality and religion, Democrats have not always demonstrated sufficient common sense. There is no reason why they cannot demonstrate more. ●

ABOVE POLITICS: The notion that God is on the side of Republicans, or any party for that matter, would deeply offend most Americans of faith.



Changing the Gun Debate

by **Jonathan Cowan**
and **Jim Kessler**

Owning a gun isn't evil.
Democrats must find the
balance between gun rights
and responsibilities.

In an op-ed article in *The New York Times*, Sen. Zell Miller (D-Ga.) explained last June why the gun issue cuts against Democrats in the South. Gun control in the region isn't just about guns, he said, but about values. "Southern voters may say they are for gun control, and they may well be for gun control, but they simply don't trust anybody who spends too much time talking about it," Miller wrote. "If Southern voters ever start to think you don't understand them — or even worse, much worse, if they think you look down on them — they will never vote for you."

There is a lesson in Miller's observations for Democrats across the country. The party will have a hard time recapturing the presidency and building a durable majority if it treats gun-owning Americans like sociopaths. After all, roughly 40 percent of Americans have a gun in their home — with even higher proportions of gun ownership in Southern and mountain states.



▷▷ **Jonathan Cowan** is president and **Jim Kessler** is policy director of Americans for Gun Safety, a national nonpartisan advocacy group based in Washington.



In November 2000 voters from gun-owning households made up roughly half of the electorate and two-thirds of them voted for George W. Bush for president. And as Miller pointed out, Al Gore was just the third Democratic presidential candidate since the Civil War to lose not only all of the old Confederacy but two Border States as well.

The solution isn't to clam up on guns, but rather to change the terms of the gun debate. There are gaping loopholes in our laws that make it too easy for criminals to get guns — like the law that allows anyone to buy a gun at a gun show without a background check. It's time for Democrats — and progressive Republicans — to embrace a “third way” gun policy that treats gun ownership as neither an absolute right nor an absolute wrong and that calls for a balance between gun rights and gun responsibilities. To win elections, Democrats need to reason with gun owners rather than insult them. And

A NEW TARGET: Democrats should respect the rights of law-abiding gun owners, such as the woman above, even as they make it tougher for criminals to obtain guns. The loophole that allows gun-show sales left, without background checks should be firmly closed.

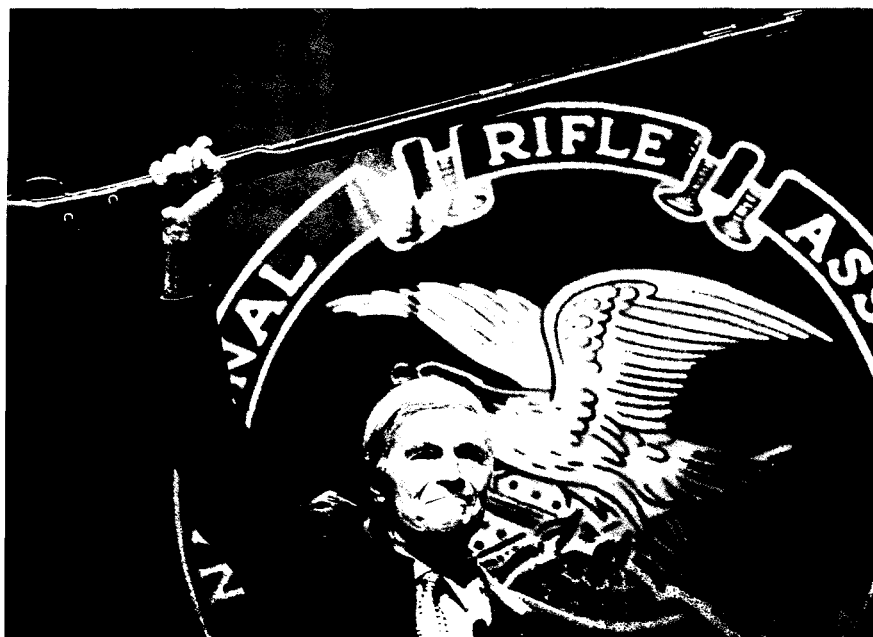
they need to make gun owners partners in developing policies that help keep guns out of the hands of criminals and make guns safer in the home.

The party that advocates a sensible approach to guns will have a distinct advantage in future elections, especially among swing voters. But for too long, two apparently irreconcilable forces have dominated the debate and forced out the sensible center.

This is how America sees the gun debate in Washington. On the right is the National Rifle Association (NRA), which according to *Fortune* magazine has displaced AARP (formerly the American Association of Retired Persons) as the

nation's most powerful lobby. The NRA argues that gun ownership is an absolute constitutional right that allows no restrictions on the sale, manufacture, or possession of firearms. Any limitations, it warns, will inevitably lead to total gun confiscation. It promotes widespread gun ownership as the best way to fight crime. And most significantly, it views gun ownership as a patriotic duty — America's “first freedom” and lone bulwark against government tyranny. The public face of the gun lobby is that of Charlton Heston daring anyone to pry that flintlock from his cold dead hands.

On the left are various gun-control groups that view gun ownership as an absolute wrong. They believe the Constitution does not confer an individual right to own a gun; that owning a



NOT BULLETPROOF: Charlton Heston's National Rifle Association may be the nation's most powerful lobby. Still, 61 percent of Americans who view the group favorably say there is room for both gun rights and reasonable restrictions.

Changing the Gun Debate

gun is irresponsible and unsafe; and that America is a more violent place because of access to guns. The public face of the gun-control lobby is a mother at a rally with a sticker on her cheek showing a handgun with a red slash drawn across it.

The debate could hardly be more polarizing. You're either pro-gun or anti-gun. You believe there is an individual right to own a gun or you don't. You draw the line at enforcing existing laws or you're for tough new gun-control laws. You believe crime and violence in America is all about a culture of violence or all about guns.

According to polling done for our organization, Americans for Gun Safety, the American people reject both views. Only 16 percent believe that gun ownership is an absolute right and only 9 percent believe it is an absolute wrong. Seventy percent of voters believe there is a right to own a gun and that it includes room for restrictions that keep guns out of the hands of criminals and children.

Even 65 percent of gun owners and 61 percent of Americans who view the NRA favorably agree that gun rights and reasonable gun restrictions can coexist.

Moreover, nearly 70 percent of Americans believe that gun-safety laws should be "more strict." More than 60 percent think we should enforce current gun laws more vigorously and enact new ones. Seventy-eight percent "strongly favor" background checks for all gun-show sales, including 64 percent of gun owners. In short, the building blocks of a third-way gun policy are in place. This vast political middle ground is up for grabs.

To win future battles in Congress and the statehouses, gun-safety advocates in both parties should take three steps:

1. Adopt a new message: respect for gun rights coupled with an insistence on gun responsibility.
2. Back up their new rhetoric by toughening enforcement of current gun laws and passing new laws that crack down on gun crime without treating gun owners and enthusiasts as pariahs.
3. Distance themselves from traditional strategies that demonize gun owners, call for "gun control" instead of gun safety, urge a ban on guns, and

imply that legal gun ownership is the root cause of gun crime.

Here's an example of sensible, centrist, bipartisan gun policy. Last fall, voters in Colorado and Oregon — including a majority of gun owners — overwhelmingly passed referenda requiring criminal background checks at gun shows. Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) worked hard in both of these Western, pro-gun states to assure voters that closing the gun-show loophole would not put an end to the shows or take guns away from law-abiding citizens. Colorado Gov. Bill Owens, a conservative Republican, endorsed his state's ballot measure, as did top law enforcement officials. Americans for Gun Safety spent nearly \$3 million for ads, phone banks, and direct mail urging passage of the referenda. *The Washington Post* called the victories "a stinging setback for the National Rifle Association."

Now here's an example of the wrong approach. Earlier this year, national and local gun-control groups rushed to endorse a proposed ban on gun shows on public property in Montgomery County, Md. It was an odd move, since Maryland already has the toughest gun-show laws on the books: Only licensed dealers can sell at the shows and background checks are required for all sales. The policy was anti-gun and didn't advance gun safety. This spring the Montgomery County Council passed the measure by one vote. You can bet that the NRA will try to use it as proof that advocates of closing the gun-show loophole really want to put gun shows out of business.

Supporters of reasonable gun laws in Washington were impressed by the success of the Colorado and Oregon initiatives. Yet they are reluctant to tackle the gun issue because they fear a backlash at the polls.

Conventional wisdom holds that the Gore-Lieberman ticker's stance on guns,

which included support for licensing all gun owners, hurt it gravely in battleground states such as West Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and New Hampshire. Others argue that the perception that the Democratic Party is anti-gun kept it from regaining control of the House.

Furthermore, the NRA spent tens of millions of dollars in the last election to persuade gun-owning union households that a Gore administration would take away their guns. Although unions fought hard to persuade their members to vote their union and not their gun, the NRA's bogus scare tactic had an impact. It clearly will be a challenge for supporters of reasonable gun laws in both parties to appeal to white, male, blue-collar gun owners in 2002 and beyond.

But before Democrats make a mad dash to the video store to rent Charlton Heston's *The Omega Man* — and before Republicans replace Washington's face with Heston's on the dollar bill — they should consider these facts: Five of seven NRA-backed candidates for the Senate lost in 2000. Bush refused to accept the group's formal endorsement. And although the NRA spent millions in Michigan and Pennsylvania, it failed to deliver those battleground states to Bush. If the traditional gun-control message doesn't work, the gun lobby's message fares just as poorly.

Congressional New Democrats and moderate Republicans should begin this third-way debate by backing the pending bipartisan McCain-Lieberman bill to close the gun-show loophole and crack down on gun crimes.

The McCain-Lieberman bill would require background checks at each of the more than 4,000 gun shows held each year. Unlike previous legislation to close the gun-show loophole sponsored by former Democratic Sen. Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey, it does not treat hobbyists who attend these shows like dangerous social misfits. For example, it would not impose gun-show paperwork requirements on collectors who sell guns in their homes. Nor would it require that records from gun-show sales be sent to Washington.

It also eliminates the main sticking point that scuttled attempts to pass the Lautenberg bill last year — the time limit for completing background checks. Gun-control groups have pressed for a period of up to three business days to complete the checks. The NRA draws the line at 24 hours.

The NRA position is indefensible and irresponsible. Virtually no state has computerized its records to the point that it can screen every single application in a day and guarantee that criminals or dangerous people will not get guns. Also, the NRA argument that anything above a 24-hour limit would effectively end gun shows, which typically occur on weekends, is hollow. Pennsylvania hosts the second-most gun shows of any state and has required background checks since 1998. In fact, three of the five states that host the most shows either require background checks or the licensing of buyers.

Meanwhile, the gun-control groups' insistence on a three-day time limit is reflexively anti-gun. It's also behind the times. In an era of automated teller machines, we should work to develop instant-check systems that allow all law-abiding citizens at gun shows to buy their gun and go home, just as if they were buying a car. The McCain-Lieberman bill creates just such an incentive. Under it, a state could reduce its background-check time limit for unlicensed sellers at gun shows to 24 hours once it has a screening system in place that works within that limit.

Naturally, the far left and the far right both oppose the McCain-Lieberman bill for all the tired old reasons. But in a promising development, several of the most ardent supporters of gun control in Congress have lined up behind it. They include Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.), the author of the Brady bill and the assault-weapons ban, and Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.), whose husband was murdered and son was wounded by a gunman on a commuter train. New Democrat Rep. Dennis Moore of Kansas has also joined as a cosponsor. President Bush had not announced a position on the bill as of this writing. But a presi-

dential spokesman recently said that Bush is committed to closing the gun-show loophole through federal law. These are all great signs for third-way gun-safety advocates.

But proving that old habits die hard, Sen. Jack Reed (D-R.I.) recently reintroduced the old Lautenberg bill. If that measure failed in the House last year in the aftermath of Columbine and with the active support of then-President Bill Clinton, why resurrect it? Cynics might say it is just to have the issue to flog over and over again.

The attempted assassination of President Reagan and the critical wounding of his press secretary Jim Brady in 1981 launched the modern gun-control movement. On the 20th anniversary of that tragedy, the national media asked a basic question: Is the movement still relevant? Their reasons for posing the question are clear. Just look at the signs: Washington's muted response to recent school shootings in California; staff layoffs at the Million Mom March; the NRA's boast that a Bush victory would give it an office in the White House. Some House Democrats have urged their leaders not to take up the gun issue. And then there was an odd pronouncement by some gun-control advocates that they were giving up the federal fight and focusing on state efforts instead.

Elected officials, including Democrats, who reflexively oppose closing the gun-show loophole and all other sensible, third-way gun-safety measures may take comfort in the conventional wisdom that the gun issue is dead. But they would do well to remember their American history: When conventional political wisdom points in one direction and public opinion points in the other, the public usually carries the day.

If gun-safety proponents start treating gun owners as partners instead of pariahs and carve out a new third-way gun policy, their best days are still ahead. If not, they will likely fade into political oblivion like the temperance movement, victims of their own ideological rigidity. ♦



THE FAMILY FACTOR: Getting married and having kids naturally shifts voters' politics. Democrats should focus strongly on parents' concerns about school safety, drugs, and sex and violence on television.

he 2000 election threw into stark relief one of the key differences between Republican and Democratic voters: the marriage gap. As we have seen in previous elections, a yawning partisan divide persists between married and unmarried voters — and it grew throughout the

1990s. Increasingly, married voters are Republican voters. In 2000, only 44 percent of married voters supported Vice President Al Gore, compared with 57 percent of unmarried voters. Similarly, in the 1998 congressional election, 44 percent of married voters supported Democrats, compared with 60 percent of unmarried voters. Since 65 percent of the electorate is married, these numbers obviously spell trouble for Democratic candidates.

The marriage gap is driven, at least in part, by differences between these voters on a range of issues that are popularly known as

“family values,” in other words, concerns about “morals” in our families, society, and the political arena. In the 2000 election, for instance, married people were more likely than unmarried people to cite “values” as a reason they voted for Gov. George Bush (e.g., restoring honor and dignity to the White House, opposition to abortion, and his position on family values) and against Gore (e.g., Gore’s stances on abortion and gay marriage).

This deep divide between voters along matrimonial lines — marrieds favoring Republicans, unmarrieds favoring Democrats — highlights the large role values play in national politics, especially last year. In a period of economic prosperity, issues that normally dominate electoral politics

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Marriage

How to make family
values and moral renewal
Democratic issues

by **Anna
Greenberg**

>> **Anna Greenberg**, former assistant professor at Harvard’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, is vice president of Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, Inc. in Washington.



Why Washington Hates Moms

The political world pretends to care about us, but offers us little.

by **Bonnie LePard**

Shortly after I left my job as a Justice Department prosecutor to become a full-time mom, I went to a cocktail party in Washington. A man asked me, "What do you do for a living?" I told him I had put off practicing law for a while to raise my baby daughter. He didn't even wait for me to finish my answer. He just walked away.

He didn't know what he was missing. I count my blessings every day I can afford to trade the law for a more demanding profession. My heart goes out to the millions of mothers who would rather be home with their children but who must work to make ends meet.

I have spent the last eight years as a full-time mom raising two small children in Washington, D.C., which has the highest percentage of professional

women in the country. You'd think that a city that lavishes respect — and lucre — on former congressmen, former assistant secretaries, and former Capitol Hill aides wouldn't treat full-time parents like former people. Not only are we all-day moms the heart of the traditional nuclear family, whose decline both parties lament on a regular basis — we're also something even more politically precious: swing voters. We're the soccer moms to whom so many TV spots are dedicated.

For the record, I'm not a soccer mom. I'm a soccer coach. But what really bothers me isn't that politicians stereotype women like me. It's that the political world pretends to care so much, but offers so little.

I was raised a Republican but became a Democrat over issues like the environment and a woman's right to choose — areas where the Republican Party

KICKING OFF THE DEBATE: The author, a full-time mom and soccer coach, says both political parties have a lot to learn about helping parents spend more time with their kids.

remains hopelessly backward. I continue to vote for Democrats because they offer a better future for my children.

But both parties have plenty to learn about what matters to full-time parents. The basic Republican appeal is to talk about family values but only to value wealth. The traditional Democratic appeal is to talk about working families but only to value work.

Consider President Bush's tax cut. No matter how hard he tries to claim that he's helping families, his tax cut was designed to do just the opposite. For all his talk about the plight of single "waitress moms," the big winners under Bush's plan are Mercedes moms (and dads) who work more, earn more — and spend less time at home. If a couple works long enough, their tax cut will just about cover the cost of their nanny. The party that whines about the Nanny State is well on its way to creating one.

I believe most Republicans when they say they're pro-family. I just wish they were willing to do something about it. They believe parents should spend more time with their children, but they opposed the Family and Medical Leave Act, which enabled parents of a sick child to do just that. They praise motherhood, but duck the tough issues mothers worry about, such as food safety and water quality. And like the National Rifle Association, their idea of gun safety is to sell me one.

Happily, Democrats don't want us barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen cleaning our Lady Remington revolvers. The Democratic agenda would help those who need it most — with health care, child care, and better schools. Some Democrats like Joe Lieberman have followed the lead of full-time mom Tipper Gore in taking on cultural pollution.

But for too long, too many "progressive" women have looked down on other women who chose family over work. And for all that Democrats have

done to help parents succeed at work — from expanding childcare to increasing after-school programs — they have not worried nearly as much about helping parents succeed at home.

Because more parents work, the average child sees 22 hours a week less of them than in 1970 — two years over the life of their childhood. We're away from them longer at the same time they have to face a culture that makes them grow up faster. We can't just promise to make it up to them on the weekend. Parents may want quality time, but kids need quantity time.

If Democrats are serious about tackling this problem, here are some places to start:

1. *Give parents more choices.* In the New Economy, employers can offer working parents more flexibility in their work hours — and in their work locations. Many working mothers and fathers would be thrilled to work from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. and be able to pick their kids up after school. Those used to be called banker's hours; today we might call them parents' hours.

A pro-family tax plan would help parents who want to spend more time with their families but can't afford it. For example, one hour out of every working day goes to pay the employee and employer's share of the payroll tax. Cutting this tax would help working parents spend more of those hours with their children.

We should take another look at flextime legislation, which would protect the 40-hour workweek but let parents choose an hour-and-a-half of paid time off for every hour of overtime they work. We should reward and honor parents who work overtime at home, not just at work. We also might consider giving tax credits to businesses that adopt family-friendly policies, such as telecommuting and flextime. After-school spending has been one of the fastest-growing programs in the federal budget, with good reason. But a parent can be an effective after-school program, too.

2. *Make it easier for parents to leave — and rejoin — the workforce.* Democrats should expand the Family and Medical Leave Act to cover more small businesses and give parents unpaid time off for their children's doctor visits and parent-teacher conferences. Many parents would like to care for their young children even longer, but fear a long gap in their resume will hurt their return to work. We should prohibit employers from discriminating against parents because they chose to take time off. And as Al Gore and Joe Lieberman proposed, we should end the motherhood penalty in Social Security that penalizes women who take time off to raise children.

3. *Get some dads to stay home, too.* Although women still don't get equal pay, we've made great strides toward parity at work. Perhaps our next goal should be parity at home. Working dads might spend more time at home if employers weren't allowed to treat part-time workers as second-class citizens when it comes to health care and other benefits. Child support orders should include the expectation of a father's time as well as his money. Men would appreciate women more if they had to do the

than faith-based. The decline in civic participation over the last three decades that sociologist Robert D. Putnam identified in *Bowling Alone* happened largely because millions of PTA presidents and Cub Scout den mothers entered the workforce and nobody took their place.

When Democrats talk about opportunity, responsibility, and community, they need to remember that without us, there wouldn't be much community. Over the past few years, I have chaired a social services agency, an environmental foundation, the parents' association at school, and other civic groups. With so many parents working full-time jobs, full-time parents have to be the community for a lot of other people.

So I hope I never hear another law partner boast and whine about his long hours, when I know how much longer and harder his wife works for their children and our community. It doesn't matter how many hours you can bill today if it means your children's psychiatrist will bill just as many tomorrow.

All the family-friendly policies in the world will never overcome a culture that fails to put family front and center. As sociologist Arlie Hochschild found in *The Time Bind*, the growing stress of

When **Democrats talk** about opportunity, responsibility, and community, they **need to remember** that without us, there wouldn't be much **community**.

parenting job — and more important, I bet their hearts would get hooked on spending more time with their children.

4. *Change the tone in Washington and elsewhere.* I didn't want or need a tax break to become a professional mom. But a little respect wouldn't hurt. Not long ago, a working mother — a good Democrat — said to me, "It must be nice to have every day off."

It's easy to forget how much full-time parents do not just for their own families, but for everyone else's. In the debate over Bush's plan on faith-based assistance, no one seems to realize that most charitable organizations — religious or otherwise — are even more mom-based

balancing work and family has made too many working parents look forward to work and dread going home.

We can't expect families to fare well under that kind of pressure forever. You go to work for the same reason I've stayed home: to build a better life for your children. But you'll suffer, and so will they, if you never have the chance to see them. The party that can help us solve that problem will win the lasting gratitude of parents everywhere. ♦

✦ **Bonnie LePard** was an environmental crimes prosecutor at the U.S. Department of Justice. Now her two main clients are ages 6 and 8.

The Marriage Gap

Continued from page 35

receded, and the election was fought on the cultural terrain of morality and values — from guns to gays, to character and leadership, and, more broadly, to the moral state of the nation. According to *Los Angeles Times* exit polls, moral and ethical issues were most important to voters.

Unfortunately, this is a fight that the Democrats will continue to lose if the values landscape maintains its current contours. The Democratic disadvantage on “family values” issues in American politics is nothing new, though it may

It would be easy for **Democrats to dismiss** this Republican ‘morality’ advantage as an **artifact** of the influence of fringe religious voters. But it is evident in a **broad swath of voters.**

have intensified in the wake of the impeachment scandals and the political opening afforded by the relative peace and prosperity of the last eight years. The family values debate is part of an ongoing political conversation that started in the 1960s when groups challenged authority, questioned traditional women’s roles, and pushed for expanded sexual freedoms. Over the course of the 1970s, the parties polarized over social and moral issues, with the Republican Party becoming identified with groups such as the Christian Right and socially conservative positions on abortion, feminism, and the Equal Rights Amendment. The Democratic Party, meantime, became associated with socially liberal views about sexuality and women’s rights, along with tolerance of diversity and openness to difference. At the same time, however, the party was connected in the public mind with such socially “libertine” developments as

sexual promiscuity, drug experimentation, and contempt for authority in general.

In the course of this divergence, the Republicans have offered the public a compelling narrative about the decline of moral values and its relationship to a host of social ills such as juvenile crime rates, welfare dependency, teenage pregnancy, and civic malaise. While the real story is more complicated than their account, it has been difficult for Democrats to respond to it without jettisoning important commitments to choice, privacy, and tolerance.

In fact, in the mid-1990s President Bill Clinton and Democrats made serious headway on issues of personal responsibility, a shift rooted in initiatives such as welfare reform, v-chip technology, and school uniforms. But the impeachment scandal undermined that progress, and currently Americans clearly identify Republicans as the arbiters of

their new experiences alter their political concerns. First, parents often return to the religious fold after dropping off from worship when they left their childhood home for work or college. Second, people with children have concerns that did not occur to them when they were childless. Parents worry about their kids’ exposure to sex and violence on television, in music, and on the Internet. They worry about school safety and the impact of peer pressure on taking drugs or committing violence.

By contrast, single adults, especially men, simply do not think about these issues as much as married people. According to an iVillage.com/Knowledge Networks survey conducted in March 2000, *only 16 percent of single men* thought that sex and violence on television were a very serious problem, compared with 47 percent of married men. By comparison, 42 percent of single women and 56 percent of married women thought they were a problem.

These concerns are linked to a belief that what is wrong with our families, and our nation

more broadly, is the lack of responsible parenting. In the same iVillage.com survey, more than 50 percent of the public (in an open-ended question) said that the 1999 shootings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., occurred because of lack of parental supervision and discipline (as opposed to the easy availability of guns at gun shows). Respondents said that the biggest challenge facing parents is insufficient time and commitment to teach children respect for rules and responsibility. This finding is confirmed by other national surveys that show that people think the challenges of parenting are as important as their worries about education and health care.

Such data would suggest an opening for a values narrative that emphasizes a return to traditional roles. But, in fact, the Republican message fails to adequately address people’s concerns. The salience of moral decline does not mean

It would be easy for Democrats to dismiss this Republican “morality” advantage as an artifact of the influence of fringe religious voters. But it is evident in a broad swath of voters. And a large portion of these voters are married. But does this mean that married Americans are hijacked by the Christian Right? Hardly. A more likely story is that when people get married and have children,



MAKING THE CONNECTION: Couples personalize political issues like the tax cut. They see a clear link between their tax burden and time and resources to raise their families.

that there is broad support for retrenching women's rights, denying civil rights to gays, or eliminating abortion rights. Moreover, a Republican definition of family values that blames broken families or secular laxness for our social ills ignores the economic foundations of much of our moral angst. On average, real wages for men without a college education did not grow between 1973-1995 and did not regain their 1973 value despite greater growth over the last five years. Moreover, as an analysis by economics writer Jeffrey Madrick shows, Americans face challenges to maintaining a decent standard of living as costs for services such as education, transportation, health care, and goods such as housing have risen faster than incomes. People are working more hours to keep up, but we have no real support for child care or family leave, some of the biggest issues facing working families. This means people are working longer hours and spending less time at home. Little wonder Americans are feeling stressed about their ability to spend time with their children.

Americans make the connection

between moral decline, the challenge of parenting, and the economic squeeze. In a recent St. Louis focus group of men without a college education, one participant explained why he feels the country is on the wrong track:

"I mean you can start anywhere from layoffs and going down to the personal family level. You got too many kids in their teenage years, high school years, doing what they want because there's no structure back home. Because either their parents are working their tails off trying to keep everything paid and the kids in school, so they're not there after school to help out so their kids run rampant, or they are laid off, they're working night jobs and they're not there to watch the children."

Another college-educated man from Oakland County, Mich., put it this way: "I tend to feel that the burden of the tax system in our country is forcing couples ... to work. And not so much take care of our kids as maybe my parents were able to in the past." From this and other data, it is obvious that people personalize political issues such as the tax cut, making a link between their tax burden and their ability to have the time and resources to support their families. So when people worry about moral decline, their concerns are broader than the narrow family values agenda of the Republican Party. They are responding to their own experiences

with the challenges of raising families when they do not have the resources to provide safe homes and safe schools for their children.

There is no reason for progressive Democrats to shy away from addressing these issues — they are not antithetical to a progressive agenda, and they speak to the core values of the majority of the American public. Democrats should not hesitate to criticize the proliferation of sex and violence in the media. Parents across the political spectrum are concerned and want help in

shielding their children from these influences. After all, studies by groups such as the Kaiser Family Foundation find that the majority of television programming contains some sexual content but little discussion of sexual responsibility.

likewise, Democrats should not shy away from talking about the importance of parenting — regardless of people's familial arrangements — and its influence on early childhood development, behavior in school, economic well-being, and children's health. And Democrats, regardless of their own faith or lack of it, should express respect for the religious choices of others and for the role faith-based organizations can play in families and communities. After all, all religious communities, not just religiously conservative groups, have a stake in the quality of our communities.

Finally, Democrats need to connect these priorities with an economic agenda that supports families by offering equal access to education, health care, retirement security, and targeted tax relief. Such a values message is not about exclusion or taking away rights, but about acknowledging a real desire for a society in which families and individuals have a chance for a decent moral and economic life. ●

E-Porn

Filtering



WHO'S ON THE OTHER END?

According to a new study, 20 percent of children who used the Internet at least one month last year were propositioned for sex.

Give parents, schools, and libraries the tools to protect our children.

by **Robert D. Atkinson**

American parents are coping with a growing threat to their children from the media, which one leading child and family therapist calls the “second family” due to its influence over kids. But unlike movies with ratings and gatekeepers, or television with regulated programming, the Internet has no controls (with the exception of the outlawing of child pornography). It can connect users both to uplifting educational and cultural content and to pornography, perversion, hate, and racism.

As a result, with the Internet in over half of American homes and 98 percent of schools, it's no wonder parents are worried. Over 75 percent of Americans believe that children are learning inappropriate behaviors from the Internet. And their concern is real. According

to a University of New Hampshire study, 25 percent of young Internet users reported unwanted exposures to sexual material. Moreover, a quarter of teens have visited pornographic Web sites, with 79 percent of them doing so from school. But the nation is divided by the fine line between protection and censorship in the form of filtering.

Unfortunately, rather than siding with parents in their fight to protect their children, cultural liberals all too often view any efforts to control Internet content — even if only to provide parents with tools like Internet content filters — as censorship. In their ideological zeal to fight any kind of government (or corporate) influence of content, liberal groups like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) brand anyone who raises this issue as an enemy of free speech or a religious fanatic. In their anything-is-OK belief (as long as things are not “politically incorrect”), the cultural left is reluctant even to pass judgment on what is and is not appropriate content, be it violent, sexual, or otherwise. As the liberal *The American Prospect* states in an article arguing against Internet filters, “filth is in the eye of the beholder.”

It's not as if the right has come up with a better answer. Urged on by religious conservatives, congressional Republicans in 1996 passed the Communications Decency Act, which declared illegal the posting of “indecent” or “patently offensive” materials in a public forum on the Internet. However well intentioned the law was, the Supreme Court correctly ruled that it was overreaching and that the Internet deserved free speech protections.

However, if we can't ban content, then we need to find a way to give parents and the public institutions to which they entrust their children — such as libraries and schools — the ability to keep kids from seeing age-inappropriate content. It is no surprise that 92 percent of Americans favor Internet filtering of pornography in schools, with over 85 percent favoring filters on hate speech.

There are various ways of filtering objectionable content on the Net. Most filter programs (going by names such as GetNetWise and Net Nanny) provide software that screens out certain sites based on key words or human intervention. But even though filters can provide an alternative to censorship, the left is having none of it.

The liberal American Library Association (ALA) has been among the most vociferous opponents of filtering, calling it “censorware.” With respect to filters, the ALA states that “users [including persons under 18] should not be denied access for expressing or receiving constitutionally protected speech.” This belief leads to librarians' tolerating pornographic viewing in libraries. And though some parents called for filters when adults in Evert, Wash., were looking up pornography sites on library computers in clear view of children, library director Mark Nesse was hesitant. “It's hard for us to get into the role of being everyone's parents, if for no other reason than there are lots of value systems and it's not clear which ones we should be applying,” Nesse said. Yet as public institutions, libraries serve as learning facilities and have an *in loco parentis* responsibility to exercise at least a modicum of judgment of content. If content is gray area (like sites that give medical information about contraception or abortion), the libraries should err on the side of free speech. But content that is age-restricted by law should be restricted in libraries, too.

Filters aren't perfect. Even the most popular filters sometimes fail to block adult material, while denying access to innocuous Internet sites. But Internet filtering is becoming more sophisticated and discerning. Further, a promising filtering technology based on the voluntary Internet Content Rating Association standards may soon allow parents, schools, and libraries to set their browsers at different levels depending on what type of content they would like to have blocked.

But the cultural left would rail even

USEFUL TOOLS: Software programs such as GetNetWise and Net Nanny aren't perfect. But they do enhance the ability of parents and public institutions to shield children from objectionable material.

against perfect filtering systems adopted voluntarily because they give Americans the ability to screen out material they don't want to view. And to the left, this is apostasy. The ACLU warns, incorrectly, that voluntary self-rating schemes will create a “homogenous Internet.” Liberal cyber-commentators like Andrew Shapiro and Cass Sunstein warn of the “privatization of experience” where individuals are able to screen out content that, according to the left, they have a duty to view. Filters make it possible for Americans to avoid consuming their required diversity quotient of politically correct content.

Americans view the Internet with hope and fear. They want to embrace the technology for themselves and their children, yet, at the same time, they want the tools to help them keep their kids from being exposed to objectionable content. It is good public policy to give those tools to parents, schools, libraries, and other institutions to which parents entrust their children. ●

Seizing the Latino Moment

Hispanics are
the fastest-
growing
constituency in
America. They
should be
Democrats.

by **Harry P. Pachon**

political question: Who will win their votes?

First, a caveat. Being a majority of minorities doesn't mean being a majority of minority voters. For reasons of U.S. citizenship, income, and age structure (the Latino population is skewed younger than any other minority), Latino voter turnout is lower than that of blacks. Nevertheless, the big political story of the 2000s may be which party wins the favor of our fastest-growing minority.

Some people have thought of this already, beginning with the former governor of one of the biggest Latino states, President George W. Bush. Early in the 2000 primary campaign, Bush ran Spanish-language radio ads in what seemed like an unlikely place, Iowa. He wasn't just making a symbolic gesture: Latinos were already the largest minority group of color in Iowa. The Iowa strategy may work elsewhere; according to the Census, Latinos have spilled over their traditional Southwestern, New York, and Florida boundaries and have become the largest minority group in 23 of the 50 states.

Pundits are predicting that Latinos will be heavily courted by the Republicans in the years to come. Inevitable questions arise. Are Latinos like Italian- and Irish-Americans? Will their political allegiances

By far the most startling and politically important finding of the 2000 Census was the emergence, ahead of most demographers' schedules, of Latinos as the largest minority in America. With 35.3 million people who call themselves Hispanics, as opposed to 34.6 million who identify themselves as blacks, the nation's Spanish speakers are now 13 percent of the population; African-Americans are 12.5 percent. With this sudden surge of Latinos comes the key

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be crosscut by the cleavages of class? Or will Latinos resemble Jewish- and African-Americans, who, though differentiated internally by economic class, are still solid bulwarks of the Democratic Party?

President Bush and the GOP are counting on the former, and doing everything they can to encourage it. By announcing a halt to the U.S. Navy's practice-bombing on Puerto Rico's Vieques Island, the administration reached out dramatically to the Latino political community. In addition, the president is holding weekly one-minute talks on Spanish-language radio, has appointed Latinos to high-ranking posi-

WORKING FAMILIES FIRST: When pollsters ask Latinos what group they identify with, their most common answer is "working families," not their ethnicity. Understanding this is the key to keeping Hispanics in the Democratic fold.

tions, and made his first international trip as president to Mexico City — all Latino-friendly gestures.

Yet Democrats can take comfort from the fact that the Latino community has been one of the steadiest — though unheralded — legs of support for the Democratic Party over the past decade. Outside of Texas and Florida, Al Gore received on average two of every three Latino votes. Bush, the native son, did well in Texas but still lost the Latino vote by a small margin. He carried the

Latino vote in Florida, as has every Republican presidential candidate for the past 30 years. But Bush won Florida Latinos by only a narrow margin, which may give Republicans pause. From a national perspective, Bush received about the same proportion of the Latino vote as his father in 1988 — and much less than Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Yet the feeling persists that, because Latinos are culturally conservative on abortion, welfare, gay rights, school vouchers, and crime, they are potential

Seizing the Latino Moment

swing voters who will defect from Democratic ranks. It is also argued that since many recently naturalized Latino voters have no deeply rooted partisan attachment, they are open to party-switching.

Let's take a closer look at these arguments. Surveys taken by the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute (TRPI) of registered Latino voters in the five major Latino states (California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Texas) reveal that Latinos indeed have conservative positions on abortion and gay rights. But that's only half the story. The Latino community holds heterogeneous views that span the political spectrum on many policy issues; Latinos defy simple categorization into liberal or conservative camps. Latinos in California, for example, voted against a school voucher initiative. Furthermore, a great number of Latinos are also very

California offers a classic example of how the immigration issue can polarize and mobilize the Latino community. In 1994, then-Gov. Pete Wilson championed Proposition 187, the anti-immigration initiative, and supported a proposal to ban prenatal care for undocumented mothers. At the same time, a spate of anti-immigrant legislation was introduced and passed by a GOP-dominated Congress in 1996. The besieged California Latino community responded by rushing for citizenship — close to half a million Latinos were naturalized between 1990 and 1998. As a result, the California legislature swung to the Democrats in the mid-1990s, a change that most political observers credit to angry Latino voters, many of them new Americans.

Los Angeles County provides further



identify with, the answer they give is not an ethnic identification but “working families.” The second most common answer is their ethnic identification, e.g., Latino or Hispanic.

Clearly, ethnicity is not the only factor affecting the Latino electorate. This means that rather than getting into an arms race of trying to speak the least

“Rather than getting into an **arms race** of trying to speak the least **accented Spanish**, Democrats should instead pay attention to the peculiar needs and realities of Latino ‘**working families**.’”

liberal on issues such as gun control, affirmative action, health insurance, and especially immigrant rights.

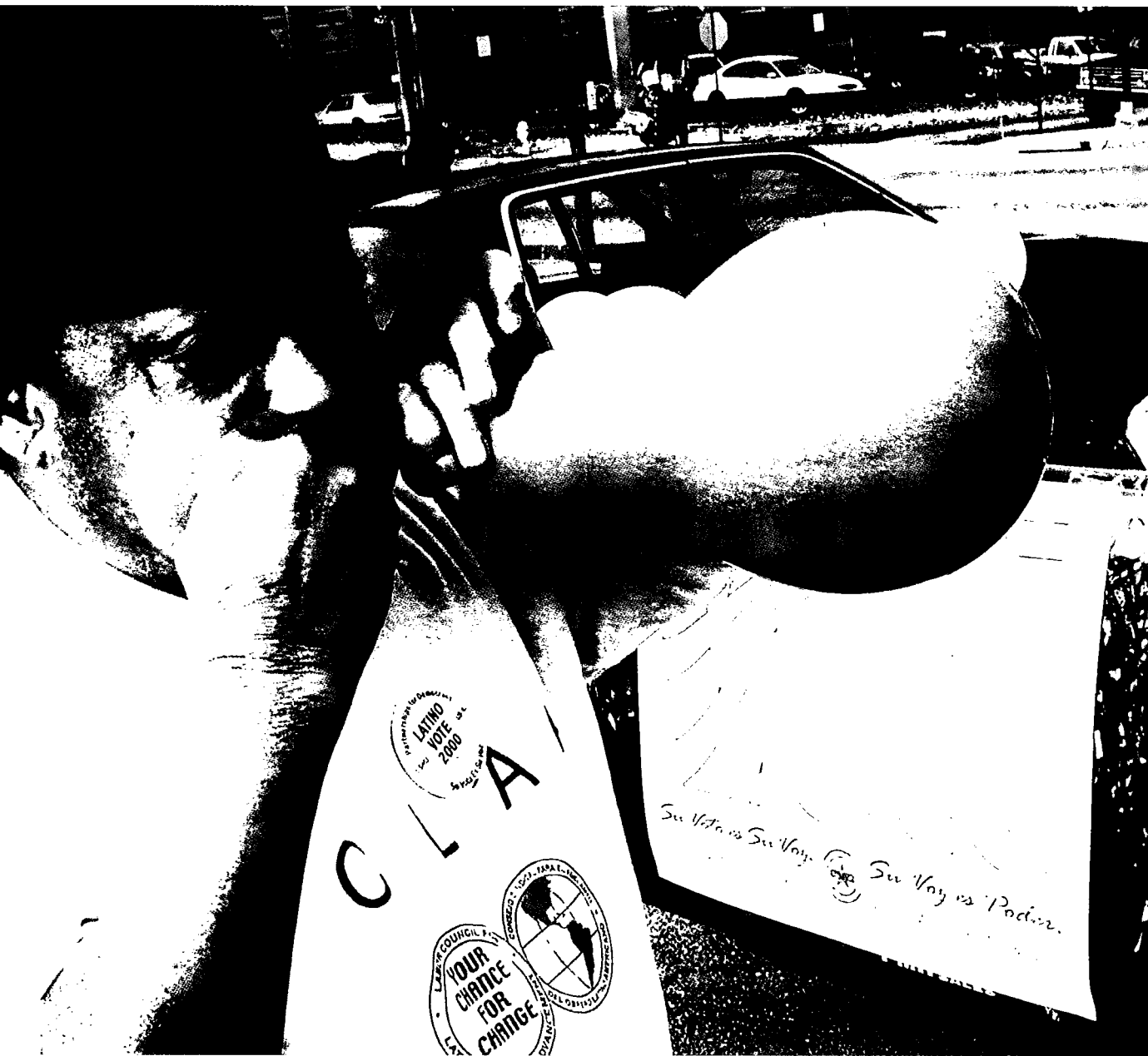
Surveys by TRPI show that while there is some ambivalence on the desirability of large immigrant flows, Latinos feel no such ambivalence on the rights of immigrants. Since two out of five Latino adults are foreign-born, it's not surprising that they condemn immigrant bashing and reject policies that disqualify legal immigrants from government assistance. For many Latinos, immigrant rights are an everyday issue affecting friends, relatives, neighbors, or themselves.

evidence of the disaffection of California Latinos with the GOP due to the party's anti-immigrant positions. Approximately 120,000 new Latino voters registered in Los Angeles County in 1998; 88,000 of them registered as Democrats, while only 8,000 registered into the GOP. The rest registered with third parties or as independents. That's an 11-to-1 registration edge for Democrats. Now that the GOP has apparently modified its immigrant positions, will the same registration and voting pattern continue? California, after all, may be the exception rather than the rule.

Again some data sheds light on the question. When Latinos are asked in national surveys what group they most

ocrats should instead pay attention to the particular needs and realities of Latino “working families.” Of course, it doesn't hurt when candidates try to reach out culturally to Latino voters by learning even a little Spanish and honoring Hispanic customs and holidays. Those gestures are appreciated, as long as there is policy substance behind them.

Traditional Democratic Party positions on health insurance, gun control, education, and worker retraining resonate well among Hispanics who are, on average, 10 years younger than the average white non-Hispanic and who typically live in a traditional two-parent household with children present in the home. Moreover, Latinos are upwardly



mobile in economic terms. More than 2.5 million Latino families in Texas and California fall into what the U.S. Census calls middle-class status — families with incomes of more than \$40,000 annually. Like the immigrant groups of yesteryear, Latinos believe the Horatio Alger dream. Many think that hard work and perseverance alone will improve, if not their own lives, then the lives of their children. And while low-income barrios do not represent anywhere close to ideal living conditions, life is still better in the barrios than in the countries most Latinos came from.

For the Democratic Party to retain the loyalty of this electorate, it has to take into account these demographic realities. Gaining Latinos' support means

advocating policies that are responsive to the needs of two-parent working families (such as affordable housing). It means promoting the safety net when it comes to health insurance. It means championing the needs of Latino legal immigrants who wish to become new Americans by choice (an area where the Democrats particularly failed to stand up to Republican conservative elements). Finally, it means genuine commitment to quality public education and breaking with the forces that have produced glaring educational inequities in our central cities.

If they stay focused on these issues, Democrats have the opportunity to become the overwhelming party of choice of working Latino families. ♦

VOTO AQUI: Increased Hispanic immigration, using border crossings like the one at San Ysidro, Calif., left, has raised the stakes for get-out-the-vote campaigns in places like Bethlehem, Pa., above.

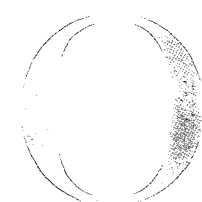
• Why we need to • Biracial

Coalitions



JOINING HANDS: Biracial coalitions grounded in centrist politics are winning elections in the South. Democrats in the rest of the nation should borrow this formula.

by **Ed Kilgore**



One of the unmistakable big trends in American politics is the emergence of a multi-ethnic society. White European-Americans will soon cease to represent a commanding majority of the population. Meanwhile, the

numerical prominence of African-Americans among minority citizens is being eclipsed by a rapid increase in the Hispanic population, with Asian-Americans on the rise as well. But for the moment, there are still key parts of the country where politics — especially Democratic Party politics — remain a matter of black and white. This is true for most of the urban centers in the industrial heartland of the country, from Philadelphia to Kansas City, and for one entire region: the Deep South. In the wake of Al Gore's loss of every single Southern state in 2000 (with the arguable exception of the distinctly un-Southern state of Florida), it's important to look closely at the present and future condition of biracial Democratic politics in Dixie.

To end racial gerrymandering, Democrats must show that whites will vote for black candidates the way blacks vote for whites.



THE RIGHT TO VOTE: Black voters, empowered by President Lyndon Johnson's signing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, have remained reliably Democratic. But to regain control of Southern state delegations, white Democrats must also be willing to vote for black candidates.

In a Southern crescent that sweeps from Virginia through Louisiana, African-Americans currently represent between one-sixth and nearly one-third of the electorate, depending on the state. More important to Democrats, the black vote in these states ranges from one-third to well over half of the Democratic vote in competitive races. This means that in some congressional districts, blacks effectively control the Democratic primary.

African-Americans have been remarkably faithful Democratic voters, in the Deep South and elsewhere, since the civil rights era. Even unsuccessful Democratic candidates in Southern statewide races have been able to count on black percentages near or over 90 percent. The key to Democratic victories has been to combine the black vote with a minority of the white vote necessary to get to 50 percent in each state. It hasn't been easy.

There have been three waves of Republican ascendancy in the Deep South since the Civil Rights Act of 1964: in the late 1960s, in the early 1980s, and in 1994. In every case, Republicans

aimed at (and on occasion, temporarily succeeded in) generating a racial polarization of the parties in which very large majorities of white voters left the Democratic Party. Democrats have managed to recreate a successful biracial coalition in each era: in the 1970s by rebuilding rural white support once the shock of desegregation had passed; in the 1980s by exploiting GOP divisions and mistakes; and most recently, in 1998, by championing educational opportunity in a way that united African-Americans with school-focused white suburbanites.

But throughout these back-and-forth partisan struggles, the almost exclusive political focus on white swing voters naturally began to stimulate resentment among African-American voters and leaders, who were grossly under-represented in the ranks of Democratic elected officials, especially in Congress and among statewide offices.

This problem manifested itself most clearly in the decennial redistricting process, where the federal Voting Rights



Act of 1965 provided specific safeguards for minority representation in Southern states. During the 1990s redistricting process, the first Bush Administration's Justice Department worked aggressively with civil rights groups to create as many black-majority congressional and state legislative districts as possible. The GOP's political motive, of course, was to consolidate reliably Democratic black voters in their "own" districts, making the remaining districts "whiter" and more likely to go Republican.

Exhibit A in the claim that "racial gerrymandering" was designed to disrupt the South's Democratic biracial coalition was Georgia, whose U.S. House delegation changed from 9-1 Democratic

Did It

Message
trumped race
in two Georgia
contests.

by **Michael L. Thurmond**

For Georgia Democrats, the 1998 election was a watershed. First, Democrats retained control of the governor's office, the legislature, and most statewide offices despite leadpipe-cinch predictions of a Republican landslide and realignment. Second, two African-Americans won statewide office, showing that message trumps race and that biracial coalitions trump polarized voting when the message is right.

Thurbert Baker, a former state legislator who had recently been appointed attorney general by Gov. Zell Miller, became the first African-American in any Deep South state to win a full term as a state's chief legal officer. And I was elected commissioner of labor. We were two of only nine blacks to win statewide executive branch office anywhere in America in 1998.

The race for labor commissioner is particularly instructive. My victory marked the first time that an African-American was elected statewide in Georgia without having been first appointed to the position. I had to fight my way through the Democratic primary and runoff against better financed white candidates. In the general election, my Republican opponent retained a consulting firm headed by Ralph Reed, the former Christian Coalition president who is now

chairman of the Georgia Republican Party. Reed ran a campaign with the race-baiting slogan: "The difference is as clear as black and white."

How were we able to do it? Mainly because we shared a centrist message with the two leading white candidates for statewide office — Roy Barnes (running for governor) and Mark Taylor (running for lieutenant governor). We ran on themes of personal responsibility, fiscal discipline, equal opportunity, education and training, and improvement of Georgia's quality of life (especially in Atlanta's gridlocked suburbs). We also ran on our records: I was able to talk about my success as a former state welfare director in initiating work-based welfare reform in Georgia. I promised that as labor commissioner, I would push for reductions in employer taxes, better unemployment insurance benefits, and a major upgrade of our training and retraining programs for the New Economy.

It is significant that in a Deep South state, where three out of every four voters are white, Republican attempts to polarize voters along racial lines failed or backfired. All four of us won solidly against the odds. Thanks to our common message, we each won roughly equal parts of the black and the white vote in every county in the state.

Voters did not simply reject racially divisive appeals; they responded positively to our centrist message. For starters, we energized the traditional Democratic core constituencies. The African-American vote jumped from 19 percent of the total in 1994 to 29 percent in 1998 — a higher percentage than the African-American proportion of registered voters, and by far the largest increase in the country. The New Democrat ticket



MESSAGE SENT: Sticking to a centrist message helped Georgia Labor Commissioner Michael L. Thurmond, top, and Gov. Roy Barnes bring voters of both races to common ground.

of Barnes, Taylor, Baker, and Thurmond won 90 percent of that dramatically increased black vote. But by campaigning as centrists, we also did well in the Republican-leaning suburbs (which themselves include a rapidly growing African-American middle class) and even in parts of conservative rural Georgia.

The existence of an informal "control group" in our election convinces me that our biracial voting coalition was driven by our centrist message. The

“control” consisted of two statewide Democratic candidates — one black, one white — who ran on a more traditionally liberal message; they both lost.

More proof that message and record trumped race were the election results in the eight counties of the North Georgia mountains — heavily white, and often Republican. I carried all of them, while our white “control” candidate — running to our left — lost all eight. Moreover, in 2000, Al Gore lost all eight as well — four of them by better than a 2-1 margin.

What this means is that we were able to create that rarest of political phenomena: a *two-way* biracial coalition. Not only were black voters crossing over to support white candidates (as they have always done), but, for the first time at the statewide level, white voters were supporting black candidates — in a very close election to boot. What appealed to people was a diverse, accomplished ticket united around a New Democrat message of opportunity, responsibility, and community.

Despite the presidential loss in 2000 — Gore lost the state by 12 percent — Georgia Democrats look strong for the 2002 elections. Those of us who were successful in 1998 are hard at work making good on our promise to extend the state’s progress in directions that a majority of Georgians want to go.

The lesson Georgia offers the national Democratic Party is that you don’t have to choose between the “base” and “swing voters” in the South or elsewhere — a diverse New Democrat ticket appeals to both. And the lesson for Democrats in the South is even clearer: Aggressively recruit young, centrist African-Americans to run for office who will not only help energize and represent “the base” — especially the growing ranks of African-American middle-class moderates — but whose message has genuine appeal across racial lines. As we showed in Georgia, we can not only win elections; we can finally begin to banish the curse of racially divisive politics. ♦

►► **Michael L. Thurmond** is the labor commissioner of Georgia.

Build ^{Why we need to} **Biracial** Coalitions

(eight whites, one black) in 1991 to 8-3 Republican (all three Democrats black) four years later. Two Supreme Court decisions (*Shaw v. Reno* and *Miller v. Johnson*) in the 1990s placed constitutional limitations on redistricting schemes aimed at controlling the racial composition of legislative delegations, but this year’s *Hunt v. Cromartie* ruling seems to reopen the door to racial gerrymandering so long as legislatures disguise it as old-fashioned political gerrymandering (since African-Americans vote so heavily Democratic, it’s easy to use political criteria to achieve specific racial percentages in a district). But there are early, encouraging signs that both black and white Southern Democrats have learned from the experience of the 1990s and are working together to achieve better black representation while furthering the party’s interests as a whole.

In the long run, it’s obvious that the alternative to racial gerrymandering for Democrats is to show that white Democrats and independents will vote for black Democratic candidates under the right circumstances. During the 1990s, a number of Southern black members of Congress — often younger and more moderate than their predecessors — began building significant and durable levels of white support. These include Sheila Jackson-Lee and Eddie Bernice Johnson of Texas; Harold Ford of Tennessee; Sanford Bishop of Georgia; and Corrine Brown and Carrie Meek of Florida.

But the most promising sign of a new, two-way biracial coalition occurred in Georgia in 1998, where two centrist, New Democrat African-Americans, Michael Thurmond (elected as labor commissioner) and Thurbert Baker (elected as attorney general) won statewide office, carrying

as high a percentage of the white vote as their white ticketmates, Gov. Roy Barnes and Lt. Gov. Mark Taylor. If this precedent is repeated elsewhere, it’s not too much to expect that a black governor or U.S. senator can be elected in the South quite soon — so long as the candidate is a centrist who can achieve biracial support (see sidebar).

The Democratic resurgence in the Deep South continued at the state level in 2000, with Mike Easley’s election as governor of North Carolina and Zell Miller’s easy U.S. Senate win in Georgia. But at the presidential level, Al Gore lost everywhere, for the simple reason that he failed to win anything like the percentage of the white vote recently won by successful Southern Democrats. The numbers are stunning. In 1998, Alabama Gov. Don Siegelman won 48 percent of the white vote; Georgia Gov. Roy Barnes won 37 percent; and South Carolina Gov. Jim Hodges won 40 percent. Gore won 26 percent of the white vote in each of these states. In North Carolina in 1998, U.S. Sen. John Edwards won 41 percent of the white vote; Gore won 31 percent. Adding these white votes to the reliably 9-to-1 Democratic margins among blacks put all these candidates into office.

Democratic strategists should take a long look at why Siegelman, Barnes, Hodges, and Edwards were able to put together a successful biracial coalition and Al Gore couldn’t. The simple answer is: In the South, it’s no longer about race, it’s about message.

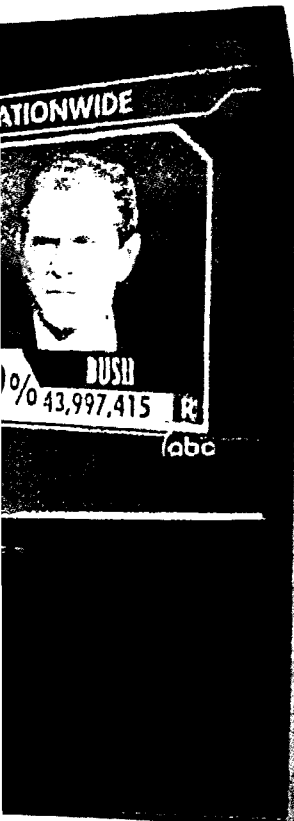
Moreover, this formula has implications for Democrats in other parts of the country, such as California and Florida, where multi-ethnic rather than biracial coalitions are required. A diverse, centrist Democratic Party with an inclusive message of balanced growth, education, equal opportunity, and personal responsibility will be more successful and unified than a party patched together in tense negotiations between ethnic-group leaders with different agendas. A common message can build unity from diversity. ♦



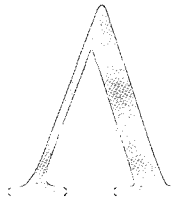
Military Challenge

by Steven J.
Nider

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A LOSING BATTLE? For decades, U.S. military personnel, like this serviceman in Kosovo watching Election Night results, have tilted overwhelmingly Republican. Al Gore's trip to West Point last year, right, couldn't win them over.



As Democrats seek lessons from the 2000 electoral defeat, they should look hard at the growing political split between them and military voters. After all, America's military officers identify themselves as Republicans eight times more often than as Democrats, according to a 1999 study.

Besides the implications for Democrats, it is clearly unhealthy for the nation to have a military so closely identified with a single political party. For the good of the country — as well as for their own good — Democrats need to begin rebuilding bridges to men and women in uniform.

To understand the depth of this glaring partisan cleft, one need look no further than the flare-up over absentee military ballots during the contentious Florida presidential vote recount last year. Phone calls from servicemen and their families flooded Tallahassee and Capitol Hill. The callers expressed their anger over what they considered to be a systematic attempt by Democrats to exclude many ballots cast by members of the military. Online chat rooms devoted to military issues were filled with denunciations of Vice President Al Gore and the Democratic Party. They were outraged at what they saw as the hypocrisy of Gore's insistence on "making every vote count" while absentee military ballots were being thrown out for having flaws that were, in many cases, not caused by the voters but the result of problems with the military mail system.

Even before the question of military ballots arose, Gore faced an



The officer corps votes overwhelmingly Republican. That's not only bad for Democrats, it's unhealthy for America.

The Military Challenge

uphill battle in winning the hearts of U.S. servicemen, especially those in the officer corps. Many were rankled by his promise to lift the ban on homosexuals serving openly in the military and to impose a litmus test on anyone he nominated to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, appointing only those candidates who supported his policy. His administration's embrace of armed intervention missions in places like Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo was unpopular among many

they have developed a more distinctive partisan identity." While the public is fairly evenly split along partisan lines, 64 percent of officers identify themselves as Republicans, while only 8 percent call themselves Democrats. Two-thirds of the officers surveyed also described themselves as "somewhat" or "very conservative."

There are numerous factors that may have contributed to the Republicanization of men and women in uniform. The Vietnam War defeat had a profound effect; many members of the military blamed vocal critics in the Democratic Party for it. The shame of Vietnam was renewed during the Carter administration, when U.S. military weakness was a symbol of overall

1960s led many to show open contempt for their commander-in-chief. Especially because of the letter he wrote the director of the University of Arkansas ROTC thanking him for "saving me from the draft" and preserving his "political viability," Clinton seemed to many officers to represent a generation hostile to the military.

The formidable divide between Democrats and the military can also be attributed to broader political and demographic changes. A poll by the Foreign Policy Leadership Project found that between 1976 and 1996, the percentage of officers identifying themselves as Republicans more than doubled, from 33 percent to 67 percent. This pro-Republican tide is a reflection of a

growing GOP advantage among white male voters, precisely the group that dominates the senior military ranks.

What does this

66 Speaking out on the issues that matter to the defense community and individual soldiers will **shore up faith** in Democrats as fit leaders **not only in politics** but in national security affairs. **99**

in the officer corps who feared being dragged into a quagmire. These objections were doubly damaging since Gore was probably the most pro-defense Democratic nominee since the Vietnam War. A Vietnam veteran, the vice president had vastly more experience in national security affairs than his opponent and proposed to spend twice as much on the military over the next 10 years as candidate George W. Bush. While military culture has always had a conservative bent, today's officers are more conservative and have become more politically active than their predecessors. Open identification with the Republican Party is becoming the norm. This trend toward the GOP was demonstrated by the large number of recently retired senior officers who publicly campaigned on behalf of Bush.

A survey directed by political scientist Peter D. Feaver and historian Richard H. Kohn, under the auspices of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, found that "while the officers surveyed continue to consider themselves neutral servants of the state,

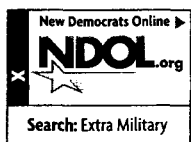
American decline. A sense of paralysis was reinforced by such public embarrassments as the military's failed 1980 hostage rescue attempt in Iran.

The 1980s swung the other way. President Ronald Reagan presided over a massive defense buildup that made many in the military feel the Republican administration gave them the respect and resources they deserved. The stunning success of the Persian Gulf War and the end of the Cold War under President George H.W. Bush allowed the Republican Party to build a reputation as the pro-defense party and to paint Democrats as weak on national security. Strong opposition by liberal Democrats in Congress to the Reagan defense buildup, criticism of military brass, and vocal opposition to any overseas military action only reinforced this perception. Democrats effectively ceded the issue of defense to Republicans.

Bill Clinton's 1992 election intensified the rift between Democrats and the military. Widespread publicity about Clinton's attempts to avoid the Vietnam War draft in the late

unprecedented partisan shift in America's military culture portend beyond bad news for Democrats? It means that the U.S. military is beginning to lose some of its time-honored neutrality in political affairs. Clearly, it is unhealthy for our democracy if the military becomes just another partisan group. The next Democratic president, for example, could face a military that assumes he is hostile to its interests. Republican administrations, on the other hand, may find it difficult to pursue a much-needed reform agenda if the military perceives that it is owed something institutionally for its political support. During the contentious Florida vote-count last November, Mackubin Thomas Owens, a professor of strategy and force planning at the Naval War College, wrote: "The military should be apolitical. The U.S. places special trust and confidence in an officer to carry out an assigned mission no matter who is in charge. The favorable opinion of the military expressed by most Americans might be endangered by the perception that the military is merely another interest group."

To ensure healthy civil-military





relations — and boost their political fortunes — Democrats should work to reconnect with the military. Speaking out on the issues that matter to the defense community and individual soldiers will shore up faith in Democrats as fit leaders not only in politics but in national security affairs. Many Democrats were frustrated in 2000 at Gore's decision not to exploit his comparative advantage on defense and national security issues. Rarely did he discuss his participation in the great national security debates of the past two decades and his wide experience in diplomacy. Although he volunteered to serve in Vietnam and even used in-uniform photos in some campaign materials, the vice president rarely spoke to veterans groups and made little effort to

connect emotionally with service personnel by invoking the soldier's common experience.

Finally, Democrats should take the offense on defense. They must seize ownership of such issues as missile defense and military transformation. Democrats should embrace a "third way" on missile defense that weaves it into a broader strategy of homeland defense, deploys it only if and when it becomes feasible, and shares it with other nations to promote stability. Democrats should also lead and support the transformation of America's military forces — in structure, organization, and technology — to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Republican military policy since 1994 has been a mix of pork-barrel politics and go-it-alone unilateralism that

HEARTS AND MINDS: To win more military votes, Democrats must engage in a national debate over issues such as military transformation and missile defense.

demands large investments in unproven national missile defense systems and opposes international efforts, like the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In contrast to the GOP's insular nationalism, Democrats should embrace a progressive internationalism that combines energetic U.S. global leadership with unequivocal support for a strong military capable of projecting power around the world.

By putting themselves at the center of the defense debate, Democrats can not only play a pivotal role in shaping military culture, but also win back the support of voters in uniform. ♦

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The Next Big Thing

Dramatically expanding Americans' access to health care — without expanding government bureaucracy — should be the Next Big Thing on the nation's agenda. And Democrats should use the Senate as their own bully pulpit to promote it. While the bill for such expansion would be high — at least \$40 billion per year, according to the Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) — the truth is that hundreds of billions of dollars are already being spent every year to help *most* Americans get health care

coverage. They include the very poor, the elderly, and those whose employers provide insurance. Left out, however, are tens of millions of working Americans (and their families) who can't get insurance on the job or who can't afford it even when employers make it available. This makes no moral or economic sense.

In the New Economy's churning labor markets, government can't guarantee anyone a particular job and shouldn't try to. But it can underpin economic security in new and creative ways, including public supports that enable workers to get coverage regardless of whether or not their employers offer it.

Universal coverage is also crucial to finishing the job of welfare reform. The low-wage jobs people are most likely to get after leaving the welfare rolls are also the least likely to offer health coverage. Providing them access to affordable health care will further encourage and reward work.

Yet expanding coverage doesn't seem to be high on either party's agenda. President Bush has offered some half-hearted proposals while Democrats, still smarting from the Clinton health care debacle of 1994, seem mired in an uninspiring policy of incrementalism.

National health care has been a staple of the progressive agenda since 1912, when Teddy Roosevelt's "Bull Moose" Progressives made it a key plank in their platform. The challenge for today's progressives is to reinvent national health care for an age skeptical of top-down, bureaucratic monopolies.

During 2000, Steven Kull of the Center for Policy Attitudes found that while political campaigns centered on regulating HMOs and adding a prescription drug benefit to Medicare, voters gave higher priority to expanding coverage and curbing health care costs.

Yet Kull also found that Americans are decidedly two-minded on the issue of "national" health care. They think government has a responsibility to guarantee everyone access to medical care, but they don't like the idea of a government-run health care system. "The public is also inclined against the idea of a full-scale, single-payer government health

insurance program," Kull noted.

This ambivalence, of course, was the shoal on which the ponderous vessel of Clintoncare foundered. It remains an impassable obstacle to the left's unrequited longing for a U.S. national health care system organized on the Canadian or British model.

But there is another way to universal coverage: A decentralized system that uses tax credits to help uninsured low-income workers buy private coverage.

As envisioned by PPI's David Kendall and Jeff Lemieux, a refundable tax credit would give low-income families up to \$2,500 a year to help them buy private health insurance. That would put coverage within striking distance for millions of workers. In addition to credits, the PPI plan calls for federal grants to help states set up purchasing groups that let workers pool their buying power and choose among competing health plans. They also propose ways for self-covered workers to sign up for insurance at work as well as steps to boost participation in the new Children's Health Insurance Program.

Some in Congress will argue that Bush's titanic tax cut leaves no room for big initiatives of any kind. But Democrats need not accept fiscal constraints imposed by a tax bill they opposed. Indeed, they should declare their determination to modify the Bush tax cut and make fiscal space for universal health care.

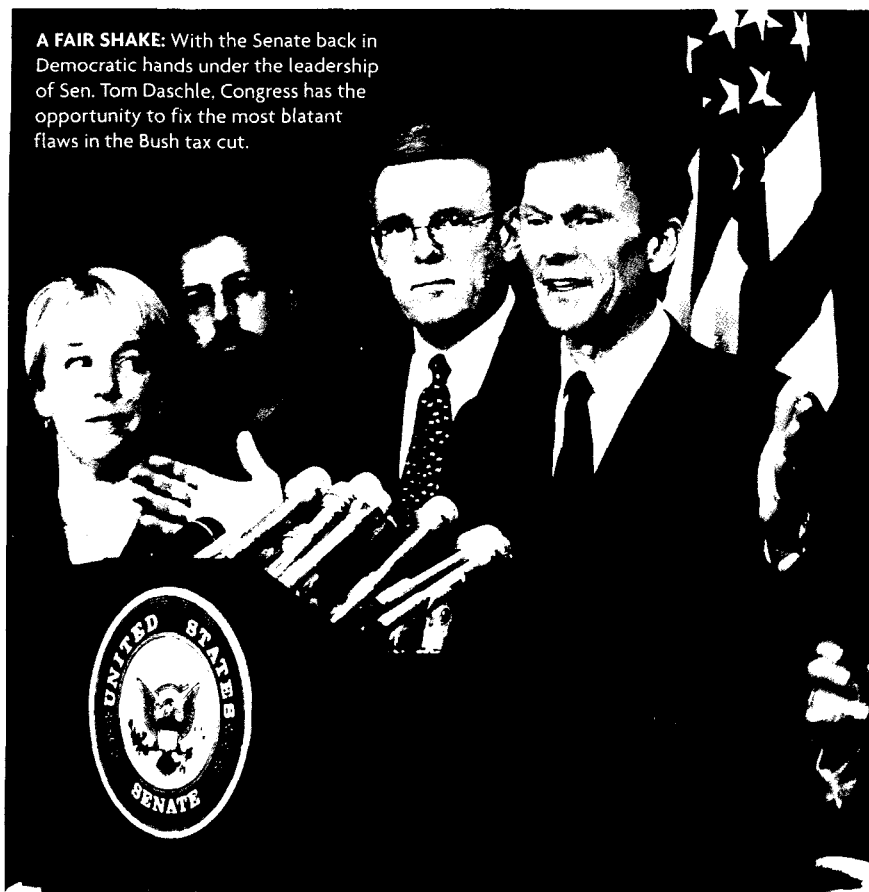
Why would this approach succeed where other previous attempts failed? Because by embracing tax cuts and group purchasing, Democrats can expand health coverage without expanding health care bureaucracy. By using public resources to enable individuals to buy private insurance, they can create a uniquely American hybrid that combines the best of government and markets.

Finally, this initiative would throw Republicans on the defensive. It would challenge Bush to extend his vaunted compassion to someone other than affluent tax payers and Big Energy. The president might try to blur differences by advancing his own modest tax credits proposal. In the end, however, conservatives' knee-jerk hostility toward government will keep them from embracing a dramatic expansion of its role in expanding coverage.

In any case, Democrats have their pulpit and it's time to start thundering from it. ●

► Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.

A FAIR SHAKE: With the Senate back in Democratic hands under the leadership of Sen. Tom Daschle, Congress has the opportunity to fix the most blatant flaws in the Bush tax cut.



Fix the tax bill!

How to remedy a tax cut that has several good features but also busts the budget in devious and worrisome ways

▷ by **Jeff Lemieux**

Even though President Bush signed his big tax cut bill into law in June, the real tax debate is only beginning. The reason is that the law is so riddled with flaws and distortions that it will almost certainly require mid-course corrections. Its full cost, which was masked by implementation delays and sudden “sunset” provisions, would otherwise swallow up virtually all the available budget surplus.

Bush’s gambit was to use the first days of his presidency to allocate as much of the surplus as possible to tax

cuts for upper-income households. This ensured that for the rest of his term Democrats would be forced to scramble for leftover funds for their priorities: health insurance for the uninsured, tax cuts for the working poor, education, research, Medicare reforms, debt reduction, Social Security finances, and other issues.

The president got a lot of what he wanted. Excluding the dubious sunset provisions (which Congress passed knowing that they would have to be overturned), the tax bill costs about \$1.7 trillion over the next decade, not the widely cited \$1.35 trillion. Including

extra interest, the total cost of the tax cut is about \$2.2 trillion, which reduces the available budget surplus to nearly zero.

On the brighter side, some determined centrist U.S. senators succeeded in balancing Bush’s tax cuts for those in the upper-income brackets with important and genuinely progressive tax breaks that Bush opposed.

Now the hard part begins: setting priorities and making difficult choices. The last time Congress rushed through a major tax cut without worrying about the consequences was in 1981, during the first year of President Reagan’s term. That tax cut was scaled back in 1982, 1983, and 1984 when it became obvious that deficits would explode if other priorities, like national defense, were fully funded.

New Democrats should not let this tax cut deter them from pursuing a progressive New Economy agenda. Like the 1981 law, this tax cut will probably be changed many times. The good news is that many of the progressive features of the 2001 tax bill start immediately, and many of its more regressive and budget-busting provisions are delayed. We have time to savor the good and to fix the bad.

The Good. The best features of the tax bill are the modest new tax breaks for low income workers with children. It expands the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) for married couples by \$210 and makes the \$600 Child Tax Credit partially refundable (that is, available as a refund even if no income tax is owed) to families with earnings of more than \$10,000. In combination, those two provisions take a small step toward encouraging work and relieving marriage penalties among low-income families.

The main tax break for the middle class is the new 10 percent tax bracket for the first \$6,000 of taxable income (\$12,000 for married couples). That amounts to a tax cut of \$300 for single taxpayers and \$600 for married couples, and the law adopts the Democratic lawmakers’ suggestion that refund checks be

▷ **Jeff Lemieux** is senior economist at the Progressive Policy Institute.

distributed later this year (rather than requiring taxpayers to wait for next year's returns to get this year's tax break).

Reducing the tax rate from 15 percent to 10 percent for the lowest tier of taxable income gives an equivalent tax cut to middle and upper-income taxpayers. That is a fair and progressive approach. Some middle class families will also be aided by the tax law's higher limits for tax-free retirement savings in IRAs and 401k plans, a new deduction for college tuition, and a slightly more generous tax credit for child care expenses. The downside for many middle-income folks is that the \$300 or \$600 check is all they will get, now and in the future. The really big tax cuts are reserved for those with higher incomes.

The Bad. In general, the new tax law goes awry after 2004. After that point, the bill is a budgetary fraud and a policy mess. The main fraud is its use of gimmicks and distortions to reduce its apparent cost. The gimmicks include "backloaded" tax cuts that phase in so slowly that their costs are not apparent until the end of the 10-year budgeting period. Perhaps the most egregious gimmick is a sunset provision that ends all of the tax cuts on Dec. 31, 2010, a full year before the end of the 10-year budgeting period.

The second-worst deception is fixing the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) only through 2004. The AMT was designed years ago to prevent rich taxpayers from using deductions and loopholes to avoid income taxes. Because it was not indexed for inflation, however, it will start burdening the middle class in this decade. About 1.5 million taxpayers are required to pay the alternative tax now, but under the new tax bill it will gobble up the tax cuts promised to as many as 36 million taxpayers by 2010.

There are other curious flaws. The popular deduction for college tuition and the matching credit for the retirement savings of low-income people are inexplicably dropped in the middle of the decade. Conversely, some of the law's marriage penalty provisions tar-

geted to middle-class taxpayers are not implemented until the middle of the decade, and even then are phased in very slowly. Likewise, most of the promised "doubling" of the Child Tax Credit from \$500 to \$1,000 is not actually done until 2009 and 2010—at the very end of the 10-year budgeting period.

In addition, the much-touted "complete repeal" of the estate tax occurs suddenly in 2010, and then is itself repealed 12 months later, creating a brief 365-day window of tax-free inheritance opportunities for the heirs of really rich folks (in the prior 10 years, the exemption level for the estate tax will have been raised to the point where only the wealthiest families faced the tax anyway).

Hence the tax cut's inherent recklessness. Even if, as some economists believe, this year's tax refunds help prevent a recession by stimulating consumer spending, the longer-term effect of this tax package could easily be to drive the nation back to deficits and economic problems. There's a good chance that any short-term positive economic effects of lower taxes will be more than offset by the negative long-term impact of higher debts and interest rates, and by new uncertainties about the government's ability to finance the retirement of the baby boom generation.

The Fix. Thus, while the 2001 tax bill contains some good features in the first few years,

in the latter part of the decade its costs far outweigh its benefits. That's why it should be revised. At the very least, the estate tax repeal and the tax cuts for those in the highest income brackets should be suspended until our larger national responsibilities are secured: debt reduction, retirement funding, and investments in education and research.

Under almost any economic scenario, the following rule should apply: If the budget surpluses don't materialize, neither should the tax cuts. Here's what Congress should do:

1. *Pay down the debt first.* Congress should ensure that the nation remains on

track to pay off its debts before the baby boom generation begins to retire and demand entitlement benefits. If that means delaying or even rescinding tax cuts, Congress should not hesitate. The budgetary progress made during the 1990s – when chronic deficits switched to historic surpluses and the national debt actually began to fall – should not be derailed because of a gimmick-filled tax cut passed this year.

2. *Scrap budget rules that are easy to evade.* Congress should reconsider some of the budgetary rules that make the extended phase-ins and sudden sunset provisions possible. The bill's sheer complexity and the uncertainty about how its provisions will evolve or be changed by future Congresses will keep tax accountants and investment advisors busy for years.

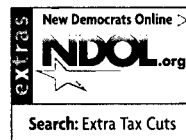
If budget surpluses really do materialize as hoped, our first priorities should be education, research, Medicare, and Social Security. Once those needs are met, Congress should accelerate the tax cuts for the working poor and the middle class. Substantial tax credits for health insurance should be a top priority. The Child Tax Credit should be more promptly phased up to \$1,000 per child, and its refundability to low-income

working households should be implemented fully and immediately. Marriage penalty relief for the middle class and those claiming the EITC should also be accelerated, and the credit

for retirement savings should be made permanent.

Finally, Congress should fix the AMT permanently before even considering the reinstatement of the rate cuts in the top tax brackets. It was irresponsible for Bush to promise tax cuts to middle- and upper-income taxpayers and then take them away via an alternative tax.

The tax cut of 2001 will prove to be a disappointment for many Americans. Congress should stand ready to fix the bill to maintain its fairness and prevent its cost from hurting the economy or bankrupting our country when the baby boomers retire. ●



New look at an old debate

Why Congress should give Bush trade promotion authority

► by **Ed Gresser**

The central trade debate of 2001 is President Bush's request to Congress for "trade promotion authority" (TPA), until recently known as fast-track negotiating authority. Whatever its name, TPA is a legislative procedure through which Congress sets formal negotiating goals for major trade agreements and agrees to vote on the results of the negotiations without amendments. In theory, it gives the president a freer hand in trade negotiations because the administration's negotiating partners know that the deal they sign will be the final deal, if passed, since Congress cannot nickel and dime it with selective changes.

President Bush's request for TPA is the same one President Clinton made in 1997 to the Congress without success. And the battle lines that are shaping up for this congressional fight are the familiar ones. Republicans favor TPA, since their man is in the White House. President Bush's special trade representative, Robert Zoellick, argues that if the administration doesn't get TPA, no serious trade agenda can proceed. Most Democrats, predictably, oppose TPA, fearing that it would leave Congress (and especially them) with little influence over trade agreements. Democratic-leaning constituencies such as environmental and labor groups are especially outspoken in their opposition to TPA.

"Congress must not grant him this authority," asserts the AFL-CIO. "Don't Trade Away our Democratic Rights – No to Fast Track," banners the Sierra Club Web site.

But this is a stale debate and a wrong-headed one at that. A look at the record of the last four years of the Clinton

administration — when, for the first time in a generation, an administration conducted trade policy without fast-track authority — shows that all of these arguments are quite probably wrong. In fact, if Congress withholds TPA from Bush, his administration may well have more freedom to negotiate the agreements it wants. By contrast, giving the administration what it wants may well be in Democrats' interest. Granting TPA could be the only way to make sure the trade agenda addresses Democrats' concerns.

The standard case and the lessons of experience.

For three decades, the standard case for fast-track negotiating authority has rested on assumptions about the limitations of the Congress. The reasoning is that modern trade agreements are complex balances of concessions with foreign trading partners; that the U.S. Congress, lacking the party discipline common in parliamentary systems, is unlikely to resist narrow amendments that help special interests maintain trade protection; that adoption of such amendments will inevitably unravel agreements even if a majority agrees they serve the greater good; and that therefore, without TPA, foreign governments will refuse to negotiate seriously with the United States.

This reasoning has long been accepted by supporters and critics of trade policy alike, and it is a proxy for a debate

over the basic aims of American trade policy. That explains why a clash over a procedural issue is so emotional. Just as supporters of trade liberalization believed their goals would be impossible to reach without fast track, so opponents believed that by blocking fast track, they could block trade policy itself.

But four years without fast track show that both were wrong. When fast track expired in 1997, the U.S. trade agenda neither stalemated nor reversed course — rather, it accelerated. As the table on the facing page notes, the record the Clinton administration built between 1997 and 2000 compares remarkably well to the records compiled when fast track was in place. It includes free trade agreements (FTAs), unilateral programs such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), multilateral agreements at the World Trade Organization (WTO), and permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) for China.

The success story of Clinton's last four years — negotiating without fast-track authority — does not wholly invalidate the traditional view that a complex trade agreement cannot pass Congress without it. Some of the major achievements listed in the accompanying table were conceptually simple, including only a single major U.S. trade concession. By contrast, today's central goals — a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and a WTO Round centered on agriculture and services trade reform — are more classical agreements that involve many trading partners, a long range of issues, and an equally long series of commitments. Thus Congress, while able to pass PNTR without fast-track protection, may find in the FTAA or a WTO Round a challenge it cannot meet without such a procedure.

But even this is not absolutely clear. In the case of the FTAA, for example, a successful 2001 agenda will bring the United States close to its ultimate obligations. NAFTA granted full free-trade privileges for Canada and Mexico in 1994; last year's CBI enhancement bill provided nearly equal access for 21 more FTAA partners. A new Andean Trade



Progress without fast track

Working without fast-track authority, the Clinton administration was able to post, in only four years, a record of trade bills and agreements that compared favorably to those of the previous 20 years.

	1975-1996	1997-2000
Multilateral Agreements	3 (Tokyo Round, Uruguay Round, Information Technology Agreement)	3 (Basic Telecommunications Agreement, Financial Services Agreement, duty-free cyberspace)
Free Trade Agreements	3 (Canada, Mexico, Israel)	1 (Jordan; FTAs with Chile, Singapore also begun)
Major Trade Bills	7 (Tokyo Round, U.S.-Israel FTA, CBI creation, Trade Act of 1988, U.S.-Canada FTA, NAFTA, Uruguay Round)	3 (African Growth and Opportunity Act, CBI/NAFTA parity, PNTR for China)

Preference Act and a free trade agreement with Chile this year would bring the total to 28, covering well over 90 percent of American imports from the hemisphere. The remainder of the work — eliminating U.S. barriers to trade with five more countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela) — may be complicated without TPA but is by no means inconceivable.

Thus, while administration negotiators will certainly benefit in international credibility and eased passage of agreements from renewal of fast track, they may not find its absence an insurmountable barrier to trade policy. By contrast, a continued absence of TPA threatens to shut Congress (and particularly the opposition party within Congress) out of policymaking altogether.

A review of successful fast track resolutions in the past shows why this is the case. These resolutions, in fact, limited the freedom of administrations to negotiate with foreign governments at least as effectively as they limited the freedom of Congress to amend the resulting agreements. They typically had four provisions:

1. A set of formal negotiating objectives, setting specific goals for prospective agreements;
2. A requirement that before

beginning negotiations for any such agreement, administrations must ask for and receive permission from the congressional committees with jurisdiction over trade policy;

3. A limited time, typically 90 days, for Congress as a whole to vote upon a completed agreement after an administration submits it; and

4. A special procedural rule requiring Congress to vote only on the agreement as a whole, and thus barring major amendments.

Like trade, negotiating power should be a two-way street. In short, fast track embodied not a one-way delegation of powers by Congress but a symmetrical balance of concessions. As Congress agreed not to bury agreements without a vote and to limit its power to amend agreements, administrations also agreed to two limits on their powers: They accepted congressional direction on negotiating goals in advance and gave up their power to open negotiations with foreign countries without prior congressional approval.

Thus, as fast track's failure in 1997 deprived trade agreements of special protections, it also freed the Clinton administration from detailed negotiating objectives and mandatory committee approval. President Clinton, to his

surprise, found himself with more power over trade policy than any president had enjoyed in decades. This is clear from the irate comments of one of the principal groups lobbying against fast track in 1997 on the free trade agreement with Singapore — the Naderite group Public Citizen:

The Clinton administration's procedure for launching this negotiation is outrageous ... Without consultation with Congress or the public — much less a delegation of exclusive Congressional authority to set terms for international trade — the administration announced a major international trade agreement.

The Bush administration has now inherited this negotiating freedom and can use it as President Clinton did. During Clinton's second term, this latitude benefited Democratic constituencies that support labor and environmental clauses in trade agreements. Without requirements for prior congressional approval of negotiations and in defiance of Republican objections, the Clinton administration was able to conclude a free trade agreement with Jordan that contained labor and environmental chapters in the core of its text. Today one can just as easily imagine current or future Republican administrations using their new freedom from congressional control to marginalize the concerns of Democratic Congresses. This should give pause to the groups fighting TPA, especially those that support inclusion of labor and environmental clauses in trade agreements.

As Congress begins debate on another renewal of fast track, the experience of the last four years thus offers a more subtle, balanced, and convincing case for its approval than the traditional pragmatic argument. Granting TPA would ensure that Congress and citizens' groups contribute to negotiating goals in advance and would create the maximum chance for trade policy to reflect the general views of the American public — including those who are currently in the opposition. ♦

When Republican moderates walked the earth

People forget that centrism has a storied history in the GOP.

► by **Ed Kilgore**

With all the discussion of the Democrats' cultural divide, it's easy to overlook the cultural chasm that has been opening in the Republican Party for the last quarter-century. Because it has been so one-sided and because it has left the bones of moderation in the tar pits of its past, the rightward seismic shift of the Republicans had come to seem like an irreversible law of nature. Until Jim Jeffords' stunning abandonment of the Republican Party last May, that is.

Jeffords is the U.S. senator from Vermont who decided he'd had enough of lockstep conservatism and opted to

discovered such creatures then walked the earth in multitudes. If 1976 seems a long time ago, remember that most of today's dominant baby boomers were then leaving behind their bangs and bongos and entering the early phases of responsible adulthood, and remember that most of today's revival rock bands and energy policy experts were then at their prime.

In the summer of America's bicentennial, there were 38 Republican members of the U.S. Senate. Nearly half of them — 17 — were considered moderates, if not liberals, by the prevailing community standards: Ted Stevens of Alaska, Lowell Weicker Jr. of Connecticut, Hiram Fong of Hawaii,

officer of the U.S. Senate was none other than Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, long the *bête noire* of conservative Republicans and chief representative of the legendary Eastern Liberal Establishment.

That same summer, Ronald Reagan's insurgent candidacy to topple moderate Republican President Gerald Ford was heading toward defeat, and many conservative activists were considering the possibility of abandoning the GOP to create a third party. Evangelical Christians were being stirred into political activity by the campaign of Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter, and Ford nearly beat him by successfully appealing to cultural liberals and moderates uncomfortable with Carter's "born again" status.

66 The old Republican moderates have not disappeared in the electorate as they have in the Senate: They or their descendants are becoming Independents or even New Democrats.²⁹

become an Independent instead, while voting with the Democrats on procedural matters in the Senate. His decision, and the resulting shift in party control of the U.S. Senate, touched off a variety of journalistic observations about the decline and fall of moderates in a party now dominated by the rigorous Right. These ranged from misty-eyed nostalgia for the sensible centrists of yore among the Eastern Seaboard press — once the ancestral homeland of "progressive" Republicans — to angry good-riddance imprecations from conservative media.

The story begins. In an anthropological search for the vanishing moderate Republican senator, I consulted dusty journals from a quarter-century ago and

Charles Percy of Illinois, James Pearson of Kansas, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, Robert Griffin of Michigan, Clifford Case of New Jersey, Jacob Javits of New York, Robert Taft Jr. (the Younger) of Ohio, Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood of Oregon, Richard Schweiker and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, J. Glenn Beall Jr. and Charles Mathias of Maryland, and Robert Stafford (Jeffords' predecessor) of Vermont. Others, like Howard Baker Jr. of Tennessee and Milton Young of North Dakota, were close to the hazy line that separated conservatives from moderates. (Still others, like Bob Dole of Kansas, were future "moderates" in the GOP conservative demonology.)

And to top things off, the presiding

The long march. The later history of the conservative-moderate fight for the GOP is better known, but it's often forgotten that the outcome was uncertain at least through 1980 and, in some respects, through 1988. Ronald Reagan's crowning victory for the conservative movement was nearly derailed by the primary candidacy of one George Herbert Walker Bush — at the time considered a moderate, deploring Reagan's "voodoo economics" and fairly fresh from his stint on the national board of Planned Parenthood — and the independent general election candidacy of John Anderson, a moderate Republican congressman from Illinois.

It's the Bush family saga that best represents the declining status of Republican moderates since 1976. After he was added to the Reagan ticket in 1980, Bush quickly abandoned his economic and social-issues deviations from conservative

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INDEPENDENT STREAK: Syrup-selling Sen. Jim Jeffords found himself walking only among the ghosts of moderation in his party, so he quit the GOP just seven months after this campaign appearance with Sen. John McCain. The Arizona senator has single-handedly introduced a new centrist impulse to Republicans.

orthodoxy, winning the nomination in 1988 as the candidate of anti-tax absolutists and the Christian Right. He then lost the presidency in part because he offended his conservative “base.”

Without casting any aspersions on his personal beliefs, it must be noted that President George W. Bush has continued his family’s Long March to the Right by rejecting everything about his father that made conservatives fear he was secretly a Jim Jeffords Republican. He espoused good-old-boy resentment of his own preppy education at Philips Andover and Yale. He traded in his father’s Yankee twang for an authentic Texas drawl. He abandoned elite Episcopalianism for Main Street Methodism. He joined the tax-cutting Church of Supply-Side Economics so fervently that he almost handled snakes. Nothing of the old-fashioned Liberal Establishment Republican doctrine remained other than a rhetorical com-

mitment to “compassion” that smacked of noblesse oblige.

The next step. Even as Jim Jeffords-style moderate Republicanism became eclipsed in the GOP, a new and unexpected centrist impulse has emerged through the agency of Arizona Sen. John McCain, long considered a Goldwater conservative. The thrust of McCain’s 2000 presidential campaign was not really ideological: It represented a revolt against the interest and advocacy groups — ranging from the K Street business lobbyists to the National Rifle Association, the National Right To Life Committee, and the Christian Right — that seemed to dominate the GOP and the Bush candidacy. The McCain appeal hit pay dirt mainly among political independents, especially those who supported Ross Perot’s two campaigns for the presidency. But the vicious reaction to his campaign and its declaration of inde-

pendence from the coalition politics of the Right has led him steadily into cooperation with Democratic centrists in the Senate and in the country at large.

The real lesson of the McCain campaign is that the old Republican moderates have not disappeared in the electorate as they have in the Senate: They or their descendants are becoming Independents or even New Democrats. The real lesson of the Jeffords defection is not that one Republican moderate has finally gotten fed up and voted for Democratic control of the Senate. It’s that moderates are up for grabs but Democrats, whose moderate faction is far stronger than is the one on the other side of the aisle, have the chance to seize the center if they will. The political ghosts of Percy, Scott, Rockefeller, Brooke, and all those long-lost Senate Republican moderates stalk the no man’s land that will determine the future landscape of American politics. ♦



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Who's soft on crime now?

Ever since Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign, Republicans have considered themselves the law-and-order party. While their record often failed to match their rhetoric—the nation's murder rate went up more than a third between 1968 and 1992—it was an unwavering article of Republican faith that the first responsibility of government was to keep its citizens safe.

President Bush's new budget suggests that he may be a different kind of Republican, after all. Far from throwing the book at crime, the president's most significant law enforcement initiative is to cut the number of new police officers on the street.

The Bush budget zeroes out former President Clinton's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program that helps communities hire more police. The COPS hiring program passed with bipartisan support in 1994 and, at President Clinton's insistence, received funding from a Republican Congress every year since — until now. Even by conservative estimates, the program has already put more than 70,000 additional police on the street, a 12 percent increase. Not surprisingly, more police have meant less crime: The rate of violent crime has dropped 46 percent over the same period — the longest, sharpest decline in crime ever recorded.

Bush's proposed cut couldn't come at a worse time for America's law enforcement. Recent figures suggest that after eight straight years of decline, crime rates may have begun to level off. Meanwhile, states and cities are already feeling the pinch of a slowing economy, which will force them to tighten budgets at the same time that they must confront rising social problems. A sustained economic downturn, if it comes, will make police officers' jobs even harder. The Bush cut will keep cities from hiring about 5,000 new police officers over the next year.

Moreover, the administration's budget slashing could cut short a nationwide revolution in community policing that has transformed the way America fights crime. Putting more officers on the beat not only makes neighborhoods safer, it makes residents *feel* safer. Community policing makes it easier for citizens to know, trust, and work with cops. If the Bush administration is serious about ending racial profiling, as Attorney General John Ashcroft has promised, it should provide more support for community policing, not less.

More police aren't the only answer to crime, of course. But the administration seems eager to reject the other answers as well. The president has consistently opposed

any serious effort to stop criminals from buying guns at gun shows. Having repeatedly attacked President Clinton for not enforcing existing gun laws, Bush has now proposed a gun enforcement plan that simply mirrors that of the previous administration. His budget even terminates a longtime Republican favorite: truth-in-sentencing grants for states that agree

not to parole violent criminals. At this rate, next thing we know he'll pardon Willie Horton.

What could drive the Bush administration to want to cut the nation's police force? In part, it's the same dangerous anti-Clinton reflex that led them to relax standards concerning arsenic in drinking water, injuries in the workplace, and (almost) salmonella in school lunches. For many conservatives, it doesn't matter that putting more cops on the street reduces crime. COPS is a Clinton idea, and that makes it a bad idea.

But what's most revealing about this budget is that law enforcement couldn't compete with President Bush's real priority — his tax cut. For two decades, under Democratic and Republican rule, the Justice Department has been the fastest growing agency in the federal government. The payoff was seen in the declining crime statistics in the 1990s. Yet Bush has proposed cutting state and local law enforcement assistance by \$1.5 billion.

The Justice budget doubled under Clinton because the nation chose to confront crime as a national problem. So let's be clear: When Bush attacks the "explosive growth in discretionary spending," he's really talking about some of government's most basic responsibilities, like putting cops on the street.

If Senate Democrats want to make progress on a values issue where Republicans are on the wrong side of the cultural divide, saving the COPS program is a good place to start. Whatever else the president thinks the American people can buy with their tax cut, most families will have trouble hiring their own police officer.

As for these compassionate conservatives who would rather cut taxes for the wealthy than keep the streets safe for all, give us back the old kind. Bipartisanship ought to mean more than making Democrats long for the days of Richard Nixon and Lee Atwater. ●

► **Bruce Reed** is president of the Democratic Leadership Council and was President Clinton's domestic policy adviser.

Self-help overdose

► **by Kay S. Hymowitz** || Recently a Chicago judge reduced the 18-month sentence of one Elizabeth Roach, who had been found guilty of stealing close to a quarter-million dollars from her employer. The judge ruled that Roach, who had spent the money on items such as a \$7,000 belt buckle, had a “shopping addiction” which she used to “self-medicate” her depression.

The case perfectly captures the theme of Eva S. Moskowitz’s rich new book, *In Therapy We Trust: America’s Obsession with Self-Fulfillment*. The author, a historian and New York City coun-

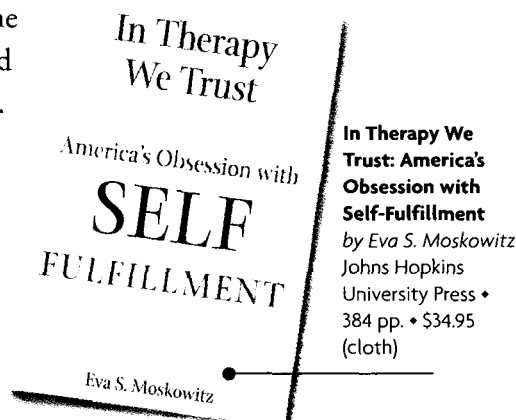
cilwoman, traces the origins and spread of the American fascination with psychological health. As the Chicago incident suggests, our national devotion to what Moskowitz calls the “therapeutic gospel” is not limited to television talk shows and Upper West Side consulting rooms; it is a belief system that over the course of 150 years has influenced law, politics, the social welfare system, and even military policy. Moskowitz doesn’t seek to debunk all mental therapy or demean those who seek help. But she does believe that our tendency to view nearly every individual and social problem through the prism of psychology carries a high civic cost.

Moskowitz begins her story in the mid-1800s with the deliciously named Phineas P. Quimby, author of *Science of Health and Happiness*. Rejecting Christianity’s idealization of self-denial and suffering, Quimby promoted the pursuit of personal happiness and the cultivation of positive feelings. His ideas found their way into a movement of religious medicine known as “New Thought,” that was determined to find “health and happiness” by nourishing that “divine spark within yourself” was spread by a growing industry of self-help books and magazines.

It wasn’t long before this proto-therapeutic view worked its way from medicine to social policy. Unlike earlier charitable souls who distributed “coals

and groceries” to the poor, Progressive Era social reformers worried about the feelings of self-worth and defective domestic life of the poor. These “therapeutic reformers,” as Moskowitz dubs them, were integral in founding a juvenile court in 1899 that was more like a clinic than a legal institution. Rather than determine guilt and innocence, the judge and his advisers in the helping professions delved into the delinquent’s home life to ascertain the psychological roots of his maladjustment and to prescribe his rehabilitation.

Moskowitz’s most original contributions appear in the chapters depicting the triumph of the therapeutic ethos during the mid-century as it entered into federal policy and came to color the very fabric of social life. Surprisingly enough, World War II was the impetus for the largest expansion of psychological thinking in public policy. Up until the beginning of the war, the entire military had only 25 psychiatrists, whose jobs were limited to weeding out the grossly unfit. But as the war spread, battalions of clinical psychologists, social workers, and psychiatrists were deployed to ask some 15 million inductees questions like, “How do you feel about coming into the Army?” and to give officers “sympathetic listening” courses and lectures about recruits’ adjustment problems. Words like “emotions” and “resentment”



and newfangled techniques like Rorschach and sentence-completion tests evidently mystified some of the Greatest Generation. Still, the immediate postwar period saw the passage of the National Mental Health Act, the formation of the National Institute for Mental Health, and a huge expansion in the training of mental-health professionals.

Although Moskowitz seems to recognize that there are important human gains associated with this history, her straight-ahead narrative does not always draw necessary distinctions between the many faces of the therapeutic gospel. Which of her examples are instances of enlightened public policy and which are profit-seeking quackery? Which show a compassionate grasp of the inner demons that beset the unfortunate few, and which, like the case of Elizabeth Roach, are a way of avoiding personal responsibility?

You can see the dangers of this reductionism in her discussion of the mid-century emergence of feminism. Earlier in the century, therapeutic reformers founded marriage-advice centers where students learned the science of personal relations and heard the promise of personal fulfillment inside marriage. But in the 1950s Freudian argot, with its “inferiority complex” and “neurotic,” literally

became household words and, as Moskowitz notes, “made psychological knowledge and introspection hallmarks of middle-class identity.” This development, in turn, created an even more compelling language for imagining marriage as an arena for individual happiness. Women’s magazines helped both to spread this language and to give voice to the lurking anger and depression of housewives. These articles paved the path for the most famous discontented housewife of all—one, not coincidentally, with a degree in psychology: Betty Friedan. Moskowitz offers a valuable insight into the similarities between Friedan’s language about “the achievement of personhood” and that of the magazines. But her analysis veers close to reducing feminism to yet another example of the triumph of the therapeutic, in the same category as Phineas Quimby’s mind cure and Ricki Lake.

Moskowitz makes a more effective case for the destructive impact of a feeling culture on politics and civic life after the mid-1960s. Abbie Hoffman, who had studied humanistic psychology under Abraham Maslow, reinterpreted the New Left revolution as “living the life you dream of living.” Feminism too took up what Gloria Steinem would later call “The Revolution from Within.” More injurious still have been the increasingly vapid therapeutic inventions of the last decades: Esalen, nude encounter groups, primal scream therapy, and, more recently, Geraldo, Oprah, Codependents Anonymous, and Internet addiction.

For Moskowitz, the greatest cost of the therapeutic gospel has been its trivialization of public language and politics. The sad irony that emerges in the later chapters of *In Therapy We Trust* is that it’s not clear how much individual satisfaction our obsession with self-fulfillment has brought. ♦

► **Kay S. Hymowitz** is a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute and a contributing editor of *City Journal*. She is the recent author of *Ready or Not: What Happens When We Treat Children as Small Adults* (Encounter Books, 2000).

Etzioni’s latest

► **by Fred Siegel** || Amitai Etzioni has been a force in American intellectual and political life for 40 years. An adviser to both the Carter and Clinton White Houses, he is both a former president of The American Sociological Association and the founder of the communitarian movement in America. The author of 19 books, Etzioni, still vigorous in his early 70s, has been best known in recent years as the primary sociologist of third-way thinking. Etzioni rejects the excesses of rights-based radicalism on both the left and the right, and argues for a centrist path to the good society that does more than try to split the difference between competing ideologies.

His two most recent books, both collections of essays, are *Next: The Road to the Good Society* and *The Monochrome Society*. The first is an accessible set of popular essays, the second a more scholarly set of footnoted articles; both deal with a similar group of third-way themes such as shaming vs. incarceration and the importance of national holidays for inculcating civic virtue. In the title essay of the *The Monochrome Society*, Etzioni, who is the father of three Mexican-American sons, is critical of the multiculturalist argument about sharply distinct American ethnic cultures. He uses a series of opinion surveys to show that the differences among American ethnic groups are dwarfed by a shared set of common values regarding opportunity, family, and equal treatment. At their best, he shows our common values are neither arbitrary nor merely customary, but rather the expressions of a broadly shared sense of distinctively American self-evident truths.

Critics of communitarianism argue that if society is limited to enforcing values that are already shared, radical change is impossible. There’s some truth to this. Etzioni’s communitarianism is an attempt to return to the pre-1968 solidarities of American life while incorporating the important innovations produced by the civil rights and feminist movements. A critic of the excesses of the American Civil Liberties Union’s mix of radical individualism and government social controls, he sees the socially con-



Next: The Road to the Good Society

by Amitai Etzioni •
Basic Books • 137 pps. •
\$23.00

The Monochrome Society

by Amitai Etzioni • Princeton University Press •
272 pps. • \$24.95

scious and hence self-constraining individual as the best way to forestall the excesses of government.

Etzioni argues for what he calls a “soft morality.” Communitarian morality is soft, he explains, “not because its tenets are but because its enforcement comes” less through the government’s special-interest bureaucracies than from persuasion and the establishment of community norms that shame rather than coerce. Like the late Isaiah Berlin, Etzioni is what might be described as a “value pluralist.” That is, he insists that no one set of values can trump all the others, so that we’re not free to curb liberty in the name of equality or vice versa. He wants both individual liberty and social solidarity. So, for instance, recognizing both women’s equality and the need for solid families to raise children, he supports what is called covenant marriage. In the name of a higher level of commitment, “couples agree,” he writes, “to partic-

Etzioni's latest

ipate in premarital counseling and counseling while married, if one spouse requests it, and to delay divorce for two years if one partner files for it," except in cases where a crime has been committed.

His essays work through the tensions between self and society, freedom and authority, open and closed cultures, particularism and universalism. He recognizes both the potential tyranny of majoritarianism as well as the corrosive consequences of individualism without accountability. He argues that we don't have to choose one or the other, but rather that the good society can be achieved by creatively sustaining the tensions in what

can be described as a process of social learning. He assumes that the liberty to live as one chooses and the liberty to participate in a flourishing society are naturally complementary.

What's disappointing is that there's but a passing mention of the new urbanism in these two collections since it is, in many ways, the bricks-and-mortar embodiment of Etzioni's ideas. And there are a number of points on which to argue. For instance, Etzioni honorifically assumes that community policing is an effective deterrent for crime, but there's no evidence for that; community policing is valuable in and of itself for improving

police/community relations, but it's best deployed after crime has already been reduced. That said, Etzioni's core argument that we need not choose between individualism and community is debatable but worth taking to heart. The difficulty, of course, is working this out "on the ground," case by case. If the world were composed largely of people like Amitai Etzioni, it might be possible to enhance liberty and community at the same time. But one suspects that gains for the one are most likely to come at the expense of the other. ♦

▷ **Fred Siegel** is culture editor of BLUEPRINT.



HUMOR ▶ BY DAVE SHIFLETT

The Horizontal vs. The Washington Way

Most Americans are highly suspicious of Washingtonians, no matter what their party affiliation. Why? Because they appear to share a frightening number of characteristics with sharks: They dress in blue or gray, roll their eyes just before devouring opponents, and — here is the most important point — *they never seem to sleep*. I have personally turned on C-Span late at night and seen, on several occasions, congresspersons still up talking — even though no one else is in the chamber!

Out here in the bush where I live, we honor the Horizontal Way. From the prone perspective, we see clearly that those who say Homo sapiens didn't hit his stride until he went upright are grievously mistaken — and certainly unworthy of our vote. Indeed, being flat on one's back is a desired political state.

All the facts point in that direction. The first thing most of us do after being born is have a quick snack, then stretch out for a nap. As we advance, we look forward to

turning in for the evening and despise having to rise. At the end of life's journey, it is the rare American who is not buried lying down.

People in Washington have obviously never heard of Peter Axt. He's the perspicacious German professor who recently discovered the obvious: Laziness is the key to life — at least to a life worth living. "People who would rather laze in a hammock or take a midday nap have a better chance of living into old age," he wrote in "On the Joy of Laziness."

As one who beat the professor to the hammock long ago, I can attest to his genius. I have been lazy all my life and have benefited accordingly. Thanks to my dedication to the Horizontal Way, my wife has enjoyed professional achievements that would have otherwise been strangled at the altar. My children have never cried out in the night, "Where is Daddy?" He's right there, lying on the rug.

Of course, it's not only politicians who are tainted with the achievement gene. The wrong way

begins early, starting with kids born into upper-income homes. Spurred by visions of BMWs or political power, they begin almost immediately scampering up the slag heap of life. But to those of us who watch life from the sauna or the chaise lounge, nothing embodies the frantic pace of the unlazy like the Washington anthill. We can see it on TV! It probably all started with Benjamin Franklin, the original neurotic hustler, who was early to rise and played dangerous games with lightning storms.

All this spooks real Americans, bush (small b) Americans, or beyond-the-Beltway Americans. All of whom vote, if they can remember to get up on Tuesdays. But many Washingtonians would rather sleep with the fishes than learn at our curled-up feet. On their behalf, it can at least be said that the graveyards are full of them, and some of them continue to vote in close elections. ♦

▷ **Dave Shiflett** is a freelance writer who lounges around Midlothian, Va.

▶▶ EXCERPT

Like Progressivism, the New Deal, and the New Frontier, the Choice Revolution is more an attitude, an outlook, and a set of principles than a line-by-line agenda. Its central impulse is replacing one-size-fits-all programs with programs that offer a range of options and give Americans the ability to make personal decisions for themselves. Some Americans are already blessed with such freedom. Those who have achieved a measure of wealth—through luck or pluck—can choose their children's schools, their family's doctors, their own way of saving for retirement, and so forth. Others are not so fortunate. Once this disparity did not seem to bother many Americans. Now they want to be masters of their own destiny again.

The Choice Revolution's force should be felt in every aspect of government action. But four big areas — education, retirement savings, job training, and health care — best illustrate why the Choice Revolution is needed and how it would work.

A central plank of the Choice Revolution is giving every parent the right and responsibility to choose — from a large menu of good options — which public school their children attend. In an Information Age where knowledge, creativity, and critical thinking define success, a high-quality education is more important than ever. Yet public schools still rely on a top-down, regimented “one-size-fits-hardly-anyone” model that strangles innovation and excellence.

Charter schools have begun to revolutionize the public school system. They have become oases of innovation in a larger desert of monopolistic cookie-cutter schools. It is time to bring life to the entire desert. Every single public school in the country should be made a charter school — by giving each school a contract that grants the freedom to innovate and experiment, and freedom from restrictive red tape, in exchange for a firm demand for high-end results.

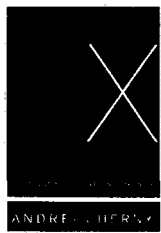
Over the past 20 years, America has doubled the amount of money it has spent on education — without an appreciable improvement in our students' performance. By giving choices to every parent and bringing competition to every school, the Choice Revolution offers a better way — a bigger idea that can bring salvation to every child in the public school system.

The Choice Revolution is driven not only by grassroots innovations such as charter schools. The real engine for this new political outlook is the growing trust Americans have in themselves — a trust built by working in nonhierar-

The choice revolution

Adapted from *The Next Deal: The Future of Public Life in the Information Age*

▶ by **Andrei Cherny**



Basic Books •
268 pp. • \$24.00

chical, empowering businesses; living in a networked, choice-based economy; and witnessing the demographic changes that are remaking the face of American life. One example of this newfound self-confidence is the explosion in the number of Americans investing in the stock market. This eruption of interest in investment is not merely a product of faith in the stock market, but a byproduct of Americans' growing faith in themselves. They are not just

buying securities; they are buying the notion that security in the Information Age comes in the form of personal decisionmaking ability.

Increasingly, Americans are looking for the same choices they have in other aspects of their lives; the same choices the wealthy have when it comes to their retirement today.

Where else will this personal control come to be exercised? The increasingly important world of job training is another natural arena for the Choice

Revolution. In a world of big businesses bleeding jobs and growing numbers of workers displaced by technology and globalization, job training is an imperative for the nation's prosperity and for the job prospects of millions of Americans. Workers would take charge of their careers, and competition would create a market dynamic likely to lead to innovations, improvements, and accountability for performance.

Health care is another area desperately in need of the Choice Revolution. If more Americans had choices about their health plans — and didn't have to take whatever was chosen for them by their employers or the government — they would have more bargaining power, would have more say in their own health care, and would get better service from doctors, hospitals, and insurers. Instead of giving up on universal health care, the Choice Revolution would achieve it by putting power and responsibility in the hands of individual Americans. Universal coverage would ensure Americans not only better health, but more power.

Today, Americans' freedom of choice is imprisoned. Someone is going to free the average citizen; someone is going to break the public monopolies on education and Social Security; someone is going to give decisionmaking power to those who most need it. The only questions are who and how soon. That is the faith of the Choice Revolution. ♦

▶ **Andrei Cherny**, a former White House speechwriter, was author of the 2000 Democratic Party platform.



It's values *and* the economy

In 1992, James Carville posted a sign in Bill Clinton's campaign headquarters that read: "It's the economy, stupid."

Three years later, the political commentator Ben Wattenberg wrote a book entitled *Values Matter Most*.

Economic priorities or cultural values — who's right? After examining presidential elections over the past 20 years, I've concluded that the correct answer is both. Without winning on

economic issues, Democrats aren't even competitive — and without remaining competitive on values issues, they don't win.

Two decades ago, class divisions in voting were stark. Democrats won low-income voters — Jimmy Carter in 1980 and Walter Mondale in 1984 won only the 15 percent of voters with the *lowest* incomes. Republicans won everyone else, including the decisive middle class.

In the 1990s, that changed. Bill Clinton's growth-oriented New Democrat economic policies made Americans more affluent — nearly three in four voters today identify themselves as middle or upper middle class and seven in 10 own stock — and convinced more affluent Americans to vote Democratic.

In 1996, Clinton won the middle and the upper middle class, losing only among the 18 percent of the voters with the *highest* incomes. In 2000, Al Gore split the middle class and ran competitively among the upper middle class, losing only the 15 percent with the highest incomes by a double-digit margin.

As long as we Democrats remain credible on economic growth with middle-class voters, the sharp class divisions that spelled doom for us in the 1980s are not likely to reappear.

But to build a durable majority, we need to close a large cultural gap. Gore lost big among married people with children, gun owners, regular churchgoers, pro-lifers, and advocates of limited government. He won among singles, non-gun owners, infrequent churchgoers, pro-choice voters, and advocates of bigger government. He won high school dropouts and voters with post-graduate degrees. But he lost the equivalent of the educational middle class — high school graduates, voters with some college, and college grads.

That gap is most evident among white voters — white men, in particular. And closing it is very complicated. While our pro-choice and pro-gun-safety positions work against us in rural areas, for example, they work for us in the growing suburban areas that are increasingly the key battlegrounds in American politics. A retreat to more conservative positions would be both morally wrong and politically counterproductive.

Nonetheless, I'm convinced that Democrats can successfully traverse this treacherous cultural terrain. In 1996, Clinton won

among married people with kids, and he cut his losses among gun owners, pro-lifers, and advocates of limited government. He won high school graduates and voters with some college, and barely lost college grads.

Democrats can learn important lessons from the Clinton experience.

First, we need to promote growth and opportunity, not redistribution.

With fiscal discipline, investment in

people and technology, and expanded trade, Democrats can hold on to the gains we made in the 1990s among middle- and upper- middle-class voters. We simply can't let the class-oriented voting patterns of the 1980s re-emerge.

Second, by emphasizing New Democrat positions on cultural issues like crime and welfare, we can reinforce our belief in core values like work and family and in the ethic of reciprocal responsibility. With opportunity comes responsibility — and by asking voters to give something back to their country, we can send a powerful values message to middle-class voters.

Third, we need to stand for big ideas, not big government. As President Clinton said, "The era of big government is over." We believe in activist government. But activist government can be empowering and catalytic, not bureaucratic and sclerotic. Democrats always do well among advocates of bigger government, but like Clinton we need to cut our losses among the majority of voters who believe the government should do less.

Fourth, we need to support family-friendly policies that help parents raise kids. As Clinton said, "Governments don't raise kids, parents do." The elites ridiculed him in 1996 for small-bore ideas like the V-chip, school uniforms, and keeping kids from smoking. But he connected with beleaguered parents. It is no coincidence that he is the only Democratic presidential candidate in the past quarter-century to win married voters with kids.

Finally, we need to avoid polarizing language on divisive values issues like abortion and guns. Clinton never wavered on his pro-choice stance, but when he said that abortion should be "legal, safe, and rare," he limited his losses among pro-life voters, whose strength increased in the last decade.

Both Carville and Wattenberg are right. Without growth-oriented economic policies, Democrats can't win the increasingly affluent voters who are the key to victory. And, unless they avoid polarizing positions on cultural issues and the size and role of government, Democrats will face a steep climb in an electorate that is half moderate but includes three conservatives for every two liberals. ♦

▶ Al From is founder and CEO of the Democratic Leadership Council.

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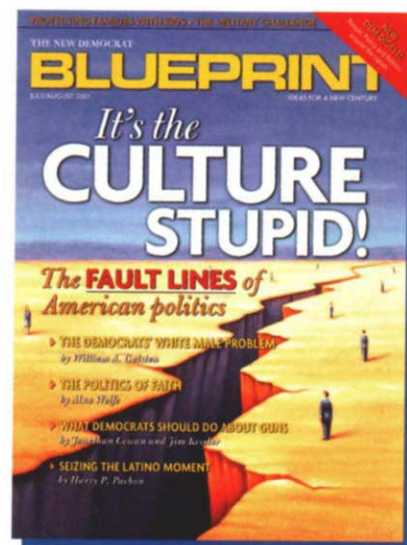
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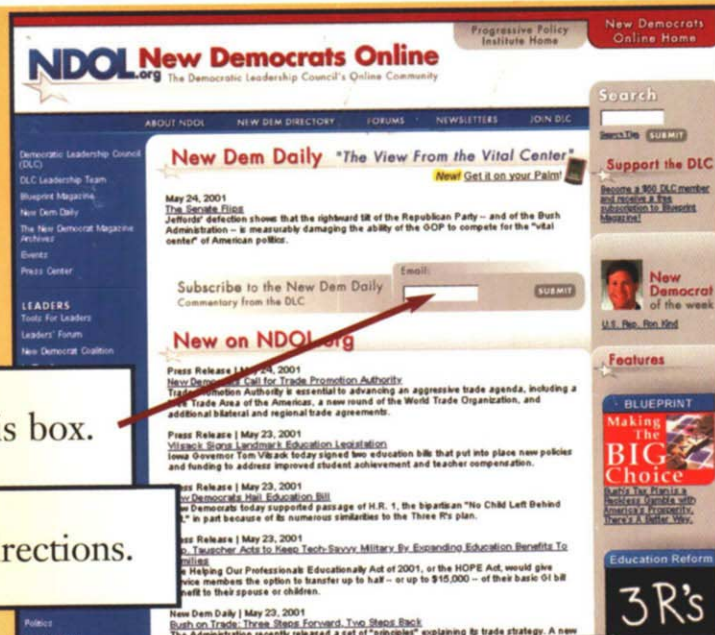
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